

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE  
FÉDÉRATION INTERNATIONALE DES ASSOCIATIONS  
D'ÉTUDES CLASSIQUES, AND WITH THE  
ASSISTANCE, ON THE RECOMMENDATION OF THE  
CONSEIL INTERNATIONAL DE LA PHILOSOPHIE  
ET DES SCIENCES HUMAINES, OF A  
SUBVENTION FROM U.N.E.S.C.O.

EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY  
THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI  
PART XXXI

*EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES*

BY

J. W. B. BARNES, M.A., D.PHIL.

QUEEN'S PROFESSOR OF EGYPTOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

PETER PARSONS, M.A.

LECTURER IN PAPYROLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

JOHN REA, M.A., PH.D.

LECTURER IN DOCUMENTARY PAPYROLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

ERIC G. TURNER, M.A., F.B.A.

PROFESSOR OF PAPYROLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

LONDON  
EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY  
2 HINDE STREET, MANCHESTER SQUARE, LONDON, W.1  
1966

*All rights reserved*

GRAECO-ROMAN MEMOIRS, NO. 45

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN  
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD, BY VIVIAN RIDLER  
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY  
AND PUBLISHED BY

THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY  
2 HINDE STREET, MANCHESTER SQUARE, LONDON, W.1  
ALSO SOLD BY BERNARD QUARITCH, 11 GRAFTON ST., NEW BOND ST., W.1  
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & CO., 43 GREAT RUSSELL ST., W.C.1

© Egypt Exploration Society 1966



481.7  
O 98  
V. 31

662943

## PREFACE

THIS part contains a considerable number of documents in addition to theological and literary texts (not devoted to any particular author or genre of literature). The editing is the work of several persons. Dr. Barns is responsible for 2532-4, 2539 (identified and worked on by M. L. and S. West), 2543-4, 2547-9, 2552, 2561-2, 2564, 2570, 2597-8, 2604-10, and 2612-6; Mr. Parsons has taken for his share 2555, 2557, 2558-9, 2563, 2567-8, 2572-7, 2580, 2582-3, 2585-6, 2588-95, and 2601-2; Dr. John Rea has worked on 2531, 2537-8, 2540-2, 2546, 2550, 2554, 2560, 2565-6, 2569, 2571, 2578-9, 2581, 2584, 2587, 2596, 2599, 2600, 2611; Turner takes responsibility for 2535, 2538, 2545, 2551, 2553, 2556, and 2603. The detailed responsibility is also set out in tabulated form (by initials of authors) in the Table of Papyri, p. ix. Some of the texts included are reprints, e.g. 2551 was given its first edition by P. Sattler, 2603 by J. Harrop. The transcript and almost all the restorations in 2535 are the work of Mr. E. Lobel, who has made a number of excellent suggestions on other texts. Some of the papyri for whose final form Dr. Barns takes responsibility were first worked on and identified by Messrs. A. Schachter and R. A. Coles; Dr. Barns would also like to express his obligations to Professor H. Lloyd-Jones. The four principal editors have also freely consulted each other.

The general editors would like once again to thank UNESCO for a subvention of five hundred dollars, and the Oxford University Press for their care in the printing.

E. G. TURNER  
T. C. SKEAT  
*Graeco-Roman editors*

July 1964

YB 7-9-70

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE . . . . .	v
TABLE OF PAPYRI . . . . .	ix
LIST OF PLATES . . . . .	xiii
NUMBERS AND PLATES . . . . .	xiv
NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS . . . . .	xv

## TEXTS

I. THEOLOGICAL TEXT (2531) . . . . .	i
II. NEW LITERARY TEXTS (2532-2539) . . . . .	4
III. EXTANT CLASSICAL TEXTS (2540-2551) . . . . .	49
IV. RELIGIOUS AND ASTROLOGICAL TEXTS (2552-2557) . . . . .	71
V. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS (2558-2581) . . . . .	89
VI. PRIVATE DOCUMENTS (2582-2591) . . . . .	134
VII. PRIVATE LETTERS (2592-2603) . . . . .	151
VIII. MINOR LITERARY TEXTS (2604-2608) . . . . .	176
IX. MINOR DOCUMENTS (2609-2616) . . . . .	179

## INDEXES

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS:	
(a) 2532-2536, 2604-2605 . . . . .	184
(b) 2537-2539, 2606-2608 . . . . .	185
II. EMPERORS AND REGNAL YEARS . . . . .	187
III. CONSULS . . . . .	188
IV. INDICCTIONS . . . . .	189
V. MONTHS . . . . .	189

VI. PERSONAL NAMES . . . . .	189
VII. GEOGRAPHICAL:	
(a) Countries, Nomes, Toparchies, Cities, &c. . . . .	192
(b) Villages, &c. . . . .	192
(c) Miscellaneous . . . . .	192
VIII. RELIGION, MAGIC, ASTROLOGY, ETC. . . . .	193
IX. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TERMS AND TITLES . . . . .	193
X. PROFESSIONS, TRADES, AND OCCUPATIONS . . . . .	194
XI. WEIGHTS, MEASURES, COINS . . . . .	195
XII. TAXES . . . . .	195
XIII. LATIN . . . . .	195
XIV. GENERAL INDEX OF WORDS . . . . .	195

## TABLE OF PAPYRI

## THEOLOGICAL TEXT

	AUTHOR	DATE*	PAGE
2531.	Theophilus of Alexandria, <i>περὶ καταρτίσεως</i>	JR	?6th cent. . . . . 1

## NEW LITERARY TEXTS

2532.	Elegiac Poem . . . . .	JWBB	Early 3rd cent. . . . . 4
2533.	New Comedy . . . . .	JWBB	2nd cent. . . . . 9
2534.	Comic Hypotheses (Menander?) . . . . .	JWBB	c. end of 1st cent. . . . . 12
2535.	Hypomnema . . . . .	EGT	Late 1st cent. . . . . 14
2536.	Hypomnema of Theon on Pindar, <i>Pythians</i> . . . . .	EGT	2nd cent. . . . . 16
2537.	Hypotheses of Lysias' Speeches . . . . .	JR	2nd/3rd cent. . . . . 23
2538.	Attic Orator . . . . .	JR	2nd/3rd cent. . . . . 38
2539.	Dictys Cretensis, <i>Bellum Troianum</i> iv 18 . . . . .	JWBB	2nd/3rd cent. . . . . 45

## EXTANT CLASSICAL TEXTS

2540.	Homer, <i>Iliad</i> xiii . . . . .	JR	1st or 2nd cent. . . . . 49
2541.	Homer, <i>Iliad</i> xiv . . . . .	JR	3rd cent. . . . . 49
2542.	Homer, <i>Iliad</i> xv . . . . .	JR	1st or 2nd cent. . . . . 51
2543.	Euripides, <i>Andromache</i> . . . . .	JWBB	2nd cent. . . . . 53
2544.	Hypothesis of Euripides, <i>Phoenissae</i> . . . . .	JWBB	Late 2nd/early 3rd cent. . . . . 54
2545.	Aristophanes, <i>Equites</i> . . . . .	EGT	Late 1st cent. B.C./ early 1st cent. A.D. . . . . 55
2546.	Manetho, <i>Apotelesmatica</i> iv . . . . .	JR	3rd cent. . . . . 57
2547.	Hippocrates, <i>Oath</i> . . . . .	JWBB	3rd cent. . . . . 62
2548.	Demosthenes, <i>In Timocratem</i> . . . . .	JWBB	2nd cent. . . . . 66
2549.	Demosthenes, <i>Epistula</i> i . . . . .	JWBB	2nd cent. . . . . 66
2550.	Lycurgus, <i>In Leocratem</i> . . . . .	JR	2nd cent. . . . . 67
2551.	Egyptian King List . . . . .	EGT	3rd or 4th cent. ? . . . . 69

## RELIGIOUS AND ASTROLOGICAL TEXTS

2552.	Illustrated Egyptian Religious Text in Greek . . . . .	JWBB	Early 2nd cent. . . . . 71
2553.	Calendar of Cult Offerings . . . . .	EGT	Late 2nd or early 3rd cent. . . . . 72

\* All dates are A.D. unless otherwise stated.



## TABLE OF PAPYRI

2554.	Predictions by Astrology . . . .	JR	3rd cent.	. . . .	77
2555.	Horoscope . . . . .	PP	Later 1st cent.	. . . .	83
2556.	Horoscope . . . . .	EGT	A.D. 161	. . . .	86
2557.	Horoscope . . . . .	PP	3rd/4th cent.	. . . .	89

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND  
BYZANTINE PERIODS

2558.	Edict of Clodius Culcianus . . . .	PP	c. 303-6	. . . .	89
2559.	Letter of Arrius Eudaimon . . . .	PP	2nd cent.	. . . .	90
2560.	Official letter . . . . .	JR	258	. . . .	91
2561.	Official letter . . . . .	JWBB	Between 293 and 305	. . . .	93
2562.	Extract from a report of proceedings .	JWBB	After 330	. . . .	96
2563.	Petition to Epistrategus . . . . .	PP	c. 170	. . . .	98
2564.	Notification of death . . . . .	JWBB	154	. . . .	101
2565.	Declarations of birth in Latin . . . .	JR	224	. . . .	102
2566.	Acknowledgement of debt . . . . .	JR	225 (?)	. . . .	104
2567.	Registration of druggists' stock . . .	PP	253	. . . .	109
2568.	Acknowledgement for return of boat .	PP	264	. . . .	112
2569.	Resignation from a liturgy . . . . .	JR	265	. . . .	115
2570.	Declaration of prices by Guilds . . .	JWBB	329	. . . .	118
2571.	Report of meat . . . . .	JR	338	. . . .	121
2572.	Order to arrest . . . . .	PP	2nd cent.	. . . .	123
2573.	Order to arrest . . . . .	PP	2nd cent.	. . . .	124
2574.	Order to arrest . . . . .	PP	2nd cent.	. . . .	124
2575.	Order to arrest . . . . .	PP	2nd/3rd cent.	. . . .	125
2576.	Order to arrest . . . . .	PP	3rd cent.	. . . .	125
2577.	Order from strategus . . . . .	PP	3rd or 4th cent.	. . . .	126
2578.	Tax receipt for <i>ἐπικεφάλαιον</i> . . . .	JR	297	. . . .	127
2579.	Tax receipt for <i>ἐπικεφάλαιον</i> . . . .	JR	313 (?)	. . . .	128
2580.	Account of pitch . . . . .	PP	Earlier 3rd cent.	. . . .	129
2581.	List of Buildings and Materials . . .	JR	3rd cent.	. . . .	131

## PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

2582.	Sale of slave . . . . .	PP	49	. . . .	134
2583.	Division of inherited property . . . .	PP	2nd cent.	. . . .	135
2584.	Lease of land . . . . .	JR	211	. . . .	137
2585.	Lease of fallow land . . . . .	PP	315	. . . .	140
2586.	Contract of apprenticeship . . . . .	PP	253	. . . .	141
2587.	Repayment of loan . . . . .	JR	289	. . . .	145
2588.	Sitologus document . . . . .	PP	148	. . . .	147

## TABLE OF PAPYRI

2589.	Sitologus document . . . . .	PP	159	. . . .	148
2590.	Sitologus document . . . . .	PP	159	. . . .	149
2591.	Sitologus document . . . . .	PP	158/9	. . . .	150

## PRIVATE LETTERS

2592.	Invitation . . . . .	PP	Later 1st or 2nd cent.	. . . .	151
2593.	Letter of Apollonia . . . . .	PP	2nd cent.	. . . .	152
2594.	Letter of remonstrance . . . . .	PP	2nd cent.	. . . .	154
2595.	Letter of Horigenes . . . . .	PP	3rd cent.	. . . .	155
2596.	Letter of Sarapammon . . . . .	JR	3rd cent.	. . . .	156
2597.	Letter of Cephalion . . . . .	JWBB	3rd/4th cent.	. . . .	157
2598.	Letters from a charioteer . . . . .	JWBB	3rd/4th cent.	. . . .	159
2599.	Letters from Tauris . . . . .	JR	3rd/4th cent.	. . . .	161
2600.	Letter of Coprias . . . . .	JR	3rd/4th cent.	. . . .	165
2601.	Letter of Copres . . . . .	PP	Early 4th cent.	. . . .	167
2602.	Letter of Agathos . . . . .	PP	Earlier 4th cent.	. . . .	172
2603.	Christian letter of commendation . .	EGT	4th cent.	. . . .	173

## MINOR LITERARY TEXTS

2604.	Writing exercise . . . . .	JWBB	3rd cent.	. . . .	176
2605.	Note mentioning <i>Iliad</i> ii . . . . .	JWBB	3rd cent.	. . . .	176
2606.	Prose work . . . . .	JWBB	1st/2nd cent.	. . . .	177
2607.	<i>Oneirocriticon</i> . . . . .	JWBB	3rd cent.	. . . .	177
2608.	Shorthand Syllabary . . . . .	JWBB	3rd/4th cent.	. . . .	178

## MINOR DOCUMENTS

2609.	Christian letter . . . . .	JWBB	4th cent.	. . . .	179
2610.	Diploma of an athlete (?) . . . . .	JWBB	Late 3rd cent.	. . . .	179
2611.	Letters concerning an athlete (?) . .	JR	192/3	. . . .	180
2612.	Proceedings before a Prefect . . . .	JWBB	285-90.	. . . .	181
2613.	Question to an oracle . . . . .	JWBB	2nd cent.	. . . .	182
2614.	Order from a garland-maker . . . . .	JWBB	3rd cent.	. . . .	183
2615.	Order from a garland-maker . . . . .	JWBB	3rd cent.	. . . .	183
2616.	Note from Claudianus . . . . .	JWBB	3rd cent.	. . . .	183

## LIST OF PLATES

- I. 2531 verso  
2565
- II. 2532  
2533  
2539  
2547  
2552
- III. 2536  
2554 fr. 3
- IV. 2535  
2537 recto  
2545  
2601 verso
- V. 2537 verso  
2601 recto
- VI. 2538 frs. 1, 6
- VII. 2538 frs. 2, 3, 4, 5  
2571
- VIII. 2546 frs. 3, 4
- IX. 2555
- X. 2553 frs. 1, 2  
2611

## NUMBERS AND PLATES

2531 verso	Plate I
2532	Plate II
2533	Plate II
2535	Plate IV
2536	Plate III
2537 recto	Plate IV
verso	Plate V
2538 frs. 1, 6	Plate VI
frs. 2, 3, 4, 5	Plate VII
2539	Plate II
2545	Plate IV
2546 frs. 3, 4	Plate VIII
2547	Plate II
2552	Plate II
2553 frs. 1, 2	Plate X
2554 fr. 3	Plate III
2555	Plate IX
2565	Plate I
2571	Plate VII
2601 recto	Plate V
verso	Plate IV
2611	Plate X

## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XXVII. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of lost letters are printed slightly below the line. In the new literary texts, corrections and annotations which appear to be in a different hand from that of the original scribe are printed in thick type. Non-literary texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, &c., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [ ] a deletion, the signs ' ' an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. In the new literary texts letters not read or marked as doubtful in the literal transcript may be read or appear without the dot marking doubt in the reconstruction if the context justifies this. Lastly, heavy Arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon* (ninth ed.). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

## THEOLOGICAL TEXT

2531. THEOPHILUS OF ALEXANDRIA, *περὶ κατανύξεως*

Plate I

(?) Sixth century

These fragments come from a page of a papyrus codex, which was about 14 cm. wide by 20 cm. high. Fr. 1 (c. 2 × 4 cm.) contains a few letters from the first four lines of the recto and the first three lines of the verso. Since the last line of the recto is preserved on frag. 2 (9.5 × 11.5 cm.), the lateral position of fr. 1 is roughly fixed by the number of letters missing between it (fr. 2 r. 9) and the first surviving letter on the verso (fr. 1 v. 1). The amount of text missing between the fragments on both sides suggests that about six lines are lost, and this allows the height of the page to be calculated approximately. A third small fragment is blank.

The writing, done in a brownish ink, slopes to the right and is clear and rather large, with cursive forms but sparing of ligatures. I am in doubt about its date and can find no completely convincing parallel, but it resembles P. Cair. Masp. ii 67177 (Pls. XIX, XX) of the sixth century. The ends of words are frequently marked by a space.

The text contained in the fragments is printed under Theophilus' name among the *Apophthegmata Patrum* in J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 65, col. 200 (4), but the title 'On Contrition', given by the colophon here, is new. In the list of Theophilus' works compiled by G. Opitz (*RE* 2te Reihe, 5ter Band, col. 2163 No. 44) it is described as a homily on the Judgement and in M. Richard's list (*Muséon* 52, p. 41, no. 33) as a sermon on death and the Judgement. The second description is based on a title found in one of the manuscripts (cod. Vat. gr. 2000, f. 260), *περὶ ἐξόδου ψυχῆς καὶ ἀποφάσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως*. These descriptions seem more apposite than *περὶ κατανύξεως* and arouse the suspicion that the short piece printed in Migne is the peroration of a longer work, but a Syriac version, published with a French translation by Brière in *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* xviii (1913), pp. 79–83, has no more than Migne, and one manuscript in which it appears is attributed to the sixth or seventh century.

References to an Arab version and to other passages in Migne obviously based on this one are to be found in M. Richard's article.

Since the colophon is on a verso one might imagine that this was the last page of a book made of one gathering of sheets of papyrus piled recto upwards before folding (Schubart, *Das Buch*<sup>2</sup>, p. 129), but this practice does not amount to a rule (ibid. p. 130) and no reliable conclusions about the gathering or the book can be drawn from a single page. The piece printed in Migne would occupy about five sides in this book.

## Fr. 1 (recto)

→ πο]ῦ ἢ κα[ύχησις  
 τοῦ κόσμου; ποῦ ἢ κεν]οδοξ[ία; ποῦ  
 ἢ τρυφή; ποῦ ἢ ἀπο]λα[εῖς; ποῦ ἢ  
 φαντασία; ποῦ ἢ ἀνά]παι[εῖς;

## Fr. 2 (recto)

→ (κατε]χο]μένην· [το]ύτων οὐ[τω]ς  
 γνω]ομένω[ν, π]οταποῦ[ς δ]εῖ  
 ὑπά]ρχειν [ἡμ]ᾶς ἐν ἀγί[αις] ἀνα-  
 τρο]φαῖς κα[ὶ] εὐεβείαις; [πο]ταπή(ν)  
 5 ἀνά]πην ἀφείλομεν κ[α]τ[ῆ]ρας-  
 θαι;] ποταπήν ἀγωγήν; ποτα-  
 πήν] πολιτεῖαν; ποταπὸν δρόμον;  
 ὁπο]ίαν ἀκρίβειαν; ὁποῖαν προσο-  
 ...] ὁποῖαν [ἀ]σφάλειαν;

## Fr. 1 (verso)

↓ ταῦτα γάρ, φησ]ί, προ[σδοκῶν-  
 τες, σπουδάσωμ]εν [ἄσπιλοι  
 καὶ ἀμώμητοι ε]ὔρ[εθῆναι

## Fr. 2 (verso)

↓ ἀπ[ὸ κα]ταβολῆ[ς κόσ]μου  
 εἰς τ[ου]ς αἰῶνας [τῶ]ν αἰών[ων]  
 [Ἄ]μην·  
 Θεο[φίλου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀλ]εξαν-  
 δρε[ίας] περὶ καταγύξεως·



**Fr. 1** (recto). The division of lines is uncertain because of their irregular length in the better preserved passages.

**Fr. 2** (recto) 4 [πο]ταπή ραρ.

8 *προσο* / *προσοχήν*? *προσευχήν* Migne, but *προσοχήν* 'attention, care' has a relevance to *ἀκρίβειαν* and *ἀσφάλειαν*, which that does not. The Syriac version appears to support this by having no reference to prayer. In the translation of M. Brière (l.c., p. 83) 'quel modèle accompli et quelle vigilance' appears to cover all three.

Verso ↓

Col. i

Col. ii

		]αιοι εβα	
		]πατιαρ	
		]εστωσης	θ . [
	Αὔγουστος	] ἔτη μυ	δ . [
5	Τιβέριος	] ἔ[τ]η κβ	χε[
	Γάιος	] ἔτη δ	νο . [
	Κλαύδιος	] ἔτη ιδ	5 γεν[
	Νέρων	] ἔτη ιδ	— δ[. . .]λιω[
	Οὐεσπασιανός	ι	η — .σπν[
10	Τίτος	] ἔτη γ	τος εγεν . [
	Δομτιανός	] ἔτη ιε	παρα . . . [
	Νέρουα	] ἐνιαυτόν	10 παρ . [
	Τραιανός	] ἔτη ιε	νηθ . [
	Ἀδριανός	] ἔτη κα	ν .υ.αι . [
15	Αἴλιος Ἄντων	] ἔτη κγ	α . — α[
	Κόμοδος	Ἄντωνίνος	. . . . . [
		] ἔτη λβ	15 γ — α[
	Ἐσουήρος καὶ	Ἄντωνίνος	— [
		] ἔτη κε	ιη — ἥλιος [
20	Ἄντωνίνος	] ὁ ἕτερος δ	νηθησαν [
	Ἀλέξανδρος	] ἔτη ιγ	μερα προ[
	Μαξιμίος	] ἔ[τ]η γ	20 λαξαι κα[
	Γορδιανός	] ἔτη ] ζ	τοικ αγο[
	Φίλιππος	] ἔτη ] ζ	λομηγ[
			ταμει[
			ε . [

Recto Col. i 5 ]λ Neugebauer 6 or κ[ 8 or ]ρε 9 perhaps ]ρωμε 20 before ε  
 perhaps λ or δ 23 ]ρλ or ]οα ii 19 perhaps ε[ 22 first letter certainly ο, not c  
 Verso Col. i 2 perhaps ]πατ[αια or ]πασιαι, but ρ is more probable at the end 23, 24 ]ξ  
 Neugebauer ii 6 or ]κιο 16 uncertain whether a long stroke or zero sign 17 trace of  
 ink after and above ιη, uncertain whether part of a horizontal stroke, then a space 23 γαμει[  
 Neugebauer

## RELIGIOUS AND ASTROLOGICAL TEXTS

## 2552. ILLUSTRATED EGYPTIAN RELIGIOUS TEXT IN GREEK?

Plate II

5 × 7 cm.

Early second century

Although the text preserved in this small scrap is too scanty for any attempt to recover its sense, the style of the illustration above is so unmistakably Egyptian that its accompaniment by Greek writing is in itself remarkable. The drawing is outlined in black, and coloured. It shows the lower part of a human figure in profile, facing right, of which the left leg and foot are entirely preserved, placed directly in front of the right (which are partly lost), on the same base line in Egyptian fashion. The figure appears to be standing on a shallow basis or platform which ends a little in front of the left toe; it is shown as a long rectangle with a line along the middle which perhaps attempts to represent the upper surface of the basis in perspective; this object is coloured pale red. The left ankle of the figure (the right is lost) is indicated by a semicircle in black; a small black projection immediately in front of each toe possibly represents sandals. The border of a garment is visible just above the level of the knees; the colour of this is obscured by fading and stains. But the most remarkable feature of the drawing is the colouring of the legs, which is blue-green. This suggests a representation of a divine personage; for the significance of green as the colour of flesh, see Kees, *Nachrichten v. d. Akad. d. Wiss. in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl.* 1943 (No. 11), pp. 428 seq.; Osiris is often so represented, but the posture is not characteristic of him. The writing is a neat informal upright rounded hand, with ligatures; it suggests the earlier second century. Written along the fibres of papyrus of good quality; the verso is blank.

]εεστυερ . [  
 ] . εαυτουτο[  
 ] . απαθηεν[  
 ] . αφοδ . [

1 Last letter: a curved limb descending leftwards to the level of the line, with a small trace above; probably μ 2 First letter: trace of ligature from a previous letter joining ε 3 First letter: trace of upright, and possibly of horizontal joining α; τ? 4 First letter: top of upright, preceded by horizontal curving up to join it at top; η or μ? Last letter: probably left bow of ω

1 οστρος (or ἐκεῖ) δ]δ ἔετων Ἑρμ[ῆς? Hermes-Toth is of course commonly represented in judgement scenes in Egyptian funerary papyri.

3 τὰ πᾶθη?  
 4 τ]ῆ ἀφόδω?

## 2553. CALENDAR OF CULT OFFERINGS

Plate X

Fr. 1 9.5 × 13.5 cm. Late second or early third century

Two fragments written in a neat small round cursive, to be assigned to the end of the second or beginning of the third century A.D. It is similar to, but less formal than, the hand of the Gnomon of the Idios Logos (BGU v). P. Ryl. ii 86 (pl. 18) of A.D. 195 offers a fairly good parallel.  $\beta$  is written with a broad base.

The fragments can be reconstructed as part of a calendar or hemerologion of cult-offerings. In spite of mutilation (the extent of the loss on the right-hand side cannot be determined) and the puzzling nature of some of the entries, the text offers new evidence regarding the penetration of Roman cult in Egypt.

The nearest parallel, close also in date and overlapping in season of the year is P. Oslo iii 77 from Tebtynis. As in the Oslo papyrus, in 2553 entries were made by day of the Egyptian month. Though none of the dates actually survive, their presence is assured by the order of the entries and by the *paragraphi* still visible below ll. 5, 8, and 13; and they can be recovered by combinatory process. Special attention is given to festivals connected with Hadrian (e.g. the deification of Antinous, the birthday of Antinous, the date of Hadrian's (entry?) *εις την πόλιν*, l. 11), and also imperial festivals (victories of Marcus Aurelius, Verus' birthday). Against each date is usually set a verb in 3rd person singular present tense without an expressed subject (4 n.), ['he'] 'sits' (7 n.) or 'sacrifices' or 'offers incense' (10 n.). No place-name actually survives. The place concerned may be Oxyrhynchus, the provenance of the papyrus. The prominence given to the cult of Antinous might suggest that Antinoopolis should be the location, but the fact that there is a shrine of the name *Λαγείον* suggests that the place had a continuous history of occupation since the early Ptolemaic period. The reference to a gymnasiarch (l. 12) might suit either Alexandria or Oxyrhynchus: many of the temples named are known to have existed in both. But the date sequence of the events commemorated in the calendar, if they are to be identified as seems plausible with the incidents of Hadrian's visit to Egypt (11 n.), seems to exclude Alexandria, but is reconcilable with Oxyrhynchus. In the latter place a victory over the Jews (presumably in Trajan's time) was still commemorated nearly a century later (705 34); the baths are named after the emperor (54, 896), and Hadrian's temple, *Ἰδριανεῖον*, is mentioned as late as the fourth century (1113, 2154).

The part of the calendar for which dates can plausibly be suggested is as follows:

1-3	(not earlier than Hathyr 3 = 30 Oct.)	? and deification of Antinous (1)
4-5	Choiak 4 = 30 Nov.	Birthday of Antinous (2)
6-8	Betw. 30 Nov. and 15 Dec.	Victories of deified Aurelius Antoninus
9-10	Betw. 30 Nov. and 15 Dec.	Festival held because of a bequest

11-13	Betw. 30 Nov. and 15 Dec.	Day on which deified Hadrian (entered?) the city
14-16	Choiak 19 = 15 Dec.	Birthday of the deified Verus (3)

The date of (1) is fixed by Chronicon Pascale i 223: Antinous died iii Kal. Nov. Divinization may have been later than this. The date of (2) is given by *CIL* xiv 2112. 5 = ILS 7212, and of (3) by numerous testimonies (cf. *Yale Class. Stud.* vii, p. 252).

The years in which this calendar was in force cannot be precisely determined. The handwriting is most like that of the closing decades of the second century, but could be early third century. Verus (*θεός*, l. 14) is dead, so probably is the emperor Marcus Aurelius (*θεός*, l. 6, if *Ἀδρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος* refers to him). The title Britannicus (l. 2 n.) may put the date in the time of Commodus. Hadrian may perhaps be the first emperor who figures in this list. No festivals seem to be attached to 8, 16, 17 Nov., the birthdays of Nerva, Tiberius, and Vespasian.

If Oxyrhynchus is in fact the location of this calendar, then it is of interest to note that religious festivals connected with the imperial cult are celebrated in a metropolis, and that a shrine connected with worship of the Ptolemies still survives there.

The temples and shrines mentioned are:

- |   |                             |
|---|-----------------------------|
| 1. ]ηρειον οἶκον τὸν Βρεττανικοῦ, l. 2. | 6. Λαγείον, ll. 7, 10, 13.  |
| 2. ]ειο(ν) l. 3.                        | 7. Σεβαστεῖο(ν) ll. 12, 14. |
| 3. Τυχαῖον l. 3.                        | 8. Ἡρακλεῖον (?) l. 26.     |
| 4. Καρραπειῖον ll. 3, 19, 22.           | 9. Ἀπολλωνεῖον (?) l. 27.   |
| 5. ]γειον, l. 7.                        |                             |

We hear also of a temple (? the *Σεβαστεῖον*) on the *ἄνωμος* of which there were steps; and possibly a sacrifice to the Nile is also mentioned (l. 25).

## Fr. i

- [ 9/10 ] . . . ε τοῦ Διὸς καὶ ἐκθεώσει Ἀντινόου[ν  
 ]ησιον οἶκον τὸν Βρετανικοῦ κ[  
 ]ειο(ν) καὶ εἰς τὸ Τυχαίου(ν) καὶ εἰς τὸ Σαραπ[  
 ] . . . [Ἀ]ντινόου θύει ἱππικ( ) αρ[. . . ]  
 5 4/5 ]ων ἡμέραι ᾗ ὅποτε εὖν προτεθῶ[σιν (?)  
 ] ἐπινακίων θεοῦ Αὐρηλίου Ἀρτυρ[ίνου  
 6/7 ] . . . ]γειον καὶ ἐν τῷ Λαγείω καθέζετ(αι)[  
 4/5 ] καὶ κέηται θεωριῶν ἡμέραι β' ὅπο[τε  
 ] κον ἀγ[ο]μένου ἀπὸ καταλίβω[ς]. [ . . . ]  
 10 ] Σαραπείου(ν) ἐπιθύει καὶ ἐν τῷ Λαγείω καθέζετ(αι)  
 ] ἡμέρα δ' θεὸς Ἀδριανὸς εἰς τὴν πόλι[ν  
 ] γυμνασιάρχ(ος) εἰς τὸ Σεβαστίου(ν) θύει καὶ εἰς τὸ κω-  
 ] μ[ά]ξει καὶ θύει καὶ ἐν τῷ Λαγείω καθέζετ(αι) ἱππ[  
 ] γενεσιῶν θεοῦ Οὐρηοῦ εἰς τὸ Σεβαστίου(ν) θύει καὶ [ . . . ]  
 15 ] κ]λειμακίους τοῦ δρόμου καὶ εἰς τὸ Σαραπείου(ν) καὶ εἰ[  
 ] . . . . . ] λον[. . . ] . . . ἀχ. εἰ διπλατρικ<sup>κ</sup> καὶ [ . . . ]  
 ] γενεσιῶν θε[οῦ  
 ] σεως καὶ π[ . . . ]  
 ] καὶ εἰς τὸ Σαραπέ[ο]ν[ . . . ]  
 20 ] . . . ε - ἱππ[. . . ] [ . . . ]  
 . . . . .

## Fr. ii

- ] πα[ ] σιν[ . . . ]  
 κ] αἰ εἰς τὸ Σαραπ[ε]ίου(ν)  
 ] υς κουριτιο[ . . . ]  
 ] γγνωραν[ . . . ]  
 25 ] τω Νερίλω δ[ . . . ]  
 ] κ τοῦ Ἡρακλεῖ[ . . . ]  
 ] εἰς τὸ Ἀπολλ[ . . . ]  
 . . . . . ] ακαυτη[ . . . ]  
 ] ε[ . . . ]

1 l. ἐκθεώσει 2 l. Βρετανικοῦ 9 l. καταλίβωος 12 l. εἰς 15 l. κλειμακίους

1-3 . . . 'On the . . . of Zeus (Jupiter?) and consecration of Antinous . . . to the house of Britannicus . . . eum and to the shrine of Fortune and to the Sarapeum . . .'

1 ] . . . not ], i.e. μεγ[ίστου or . . . το]ς τοῦ, but ]ρ or ]ω, ἐκθεώσει dative (cf. γενεσιῶν l. 14 dative) suggests that another noun in the dative stood at the beginning of the line. In ll. 6 and 9, however, (and perhaps γενεσιῶν l. 17) the entry begins in the genitive, perhaps preceded by ὑπέρ.

Διός: one might think of a reference to Ammon (Grenfell and Hunt on 1449, 1), Jupiter Capitolinus (cf. W. Chr. 96; P. Milan N. cat. 102, M. Vandoni, *Acme* xii (1959), p. 192, 6). But the date of Jupiter Capitolinus' appearance in Egypt is usually taken to be the 3rd cent. after A.D. 212 (though the date of the Milan papyrus just mentioned is uncertain). An event one part of which is the apotheosis of Antinous suggests that the other deity should be Hadrian. The reference therefore may be to Zeus Panhellenios or Ἐλευθέριος (with whom Hadrian was assimilated (cf. W. Weber, *Hadrian* (full title in n. 11), on p. 147, n. 539, A. D. Nock, *HSCP* 1930, p. 32)).

ἐκθεώσει: the word is cited in *Wörterbuch* only from the Canopus decree, OGI 56, 53. ἀποθεώσει (P. Gen. 36, 18, and in literature) is the commoner word. ἐκθεώσει Ἀρτωνός, Dieg. Callim. x 10.

2 The fact that the first two words are in the accusative practically excludes this entry's being a different occasion from that in l. 1, for there would not be room to express this new occasion. ]ησιον might be restored τὸν παλιόν, or perhaps better understood as an adjectival termination -ήσιος, representing Latin -ensis. For οἶκος in a religious sense, cf., e.g., P. Petrie iii 1, 2, 17, etc.

Βρετανικός: after Claudius no emperor till Commodus (BGU 920, 37, A.D. 180) took this title.

K: e.g. Κ[α]ίσαρος or κ[α].

3 Τυχαίου: may be a temple of the Greek Τύχη, the Roman *Fortuna*, or possibly the *Fortuna* of the emperor. For a shrine of this title in Alexandria, cf. E. Visser, *Götter und Kulte*, p. 99; in Arsinoe, BGU i 9, i 21 (W. Chr. 293); P. Teb. ii 395, 4; 398, 5, etc.

A νεώκορος Τύχης at Oxyrhynchus appears in 507 5.

4-5 'On the birthday of Antinous he sacrifices horse-rites . . . three days, whenever they are posted . . .'

4 A new entry begins with this line.

θύει: 3rd pers. pres. indic. is used throughout to state ritual. Absence of expressed subject and the present tense are formulaic, of recurrent happenings. The ὑπομνηματισμοῖς of the strategos in W. Chr. 41 are all couched in the past tense, e.g. ii 8 ἔστειλεν (sc. ὁ στρατηγός) εἰς γυμνασιάρχην καὶ [ἔδωκεν ἐν τῷ Καίσαρειῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ]. For the present tense cf. the calendars of Cos, e.g. Paton and Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, 38, 7 θύει ἱερὸς καὶ ἱερὰ παρέχει. In the calendars of Lindos θύει and θύετω are interchanged, cf., e.g., F. Sokolowski, *Lois Sacrées* 88 a 2, b 3. Presentation in the form of a statement is like entries in a memorandum, or the summary legal provisions of the Gnomon of the Idios Logos, e.g. 11 γυνή Κρητιά τέκνον οὐ κληρονομεῖ. The subject is possibly [δ] γυμνασιάρχ[ος] [as in l. 12]: but the absence of termination there allows other restorations, e.g. μετὰ τῶν γυμνασιάρχων. If so, the subject might be the chief magistrate, officer, or priest (e.g. municipal exegetes, the epistrategos, or the νεωκόρος).

I have not found a precise parallel to the pres. indic. without expressed subject. Possibly it was stated in an earlier part of the text now lost.

ἱππικ( ): cf. ll. 13, 20. The expansion must be speculative in the absence of parallels, e.g. ἱππικ(ὸν θύει) or ἱππικ(ᾶ ἀγῶνι).

5 ]ων: ? κέηται θεωριῶν as in l. 8. θεωρία is the term for the appropriate ritual in the Tebtynis calendar P. Oslo iii 77, 18; in BGU 362 = W. Chr. 96 vii 3 (temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Arsinoe); cf. also P. Oxy. 1025 = W. Chr. 493, 16 (a local Egyptian festival).

6-8 ' . . . on behalf of the victories of the deified Aurelius Antoninus . . . geum and sits in the Lageum . . . and booths of spectacles whenever . . .'

6 ] ἐπινακίων: possibly ὑπέρ (as often in P. Oslo iii 77), which cannot, however, be verified. In this context θεός Ἀρ. Ἀντωνίνος must surely be M. Aurelius, not Caracalla: for the phrase used of him cf. P. Teb. 327, 17 = W. Chr. 394 (WB is wrong), P. Gen. 18, 14.

According to WB the word ἐπιθύεια has only appeared once in the papyri, in P. Oxy. 705, = W. Chr. 153 = CPJ ii 450, l. 34, the day of victory over the Jewish rebels.

What were the victories celebrated here on a date lying between 30 Nov. and 15 Dec.? If θεός singular is pressed (i.e. to exclude Verus) it would seem that it must refer to one of the victories which earned for Marcus the title of Germanicus (172) or Sarmaticus (175), but there is no strong evidence for dating either of these in the autumn. It does not appear to be possible to link this date with the



ending of the revolt of Avidius Cassius in A.D. 175 (about mid-July, cf. R. Rémondon, *Chron. d'Ég.* 1951, 374-5). On the cults of Victoriae de gentibus, cf. O. Fink, *Yale Class. Stud.* viii (1942), pp. 81 seqq.

7 ]κεον: Δα]γειον, which cannot be verified, might have been used after (sc. θεία) εἰς τὸ, cf. II. 14-15, in spite of the repetition ἐν τῷ Λαγείῳ. Λαγείον, properly a shrine of Lagus, which recurs in II. 10 and 13, has previously been known only as the name of an amphitheatre in Alexandria, SB 6222 (3rd cent. A.D.). Its continued use (possibly in a town in Upper Egypt) is evidence of the lasting respect felt for the Ptolemies. SB 9016 shows a temple of Soter and cult offered there at Coptos in the 2nd cent. A.D.

καθέρ(αι): cf. also II. 10, 13. H. Chadwick refers to Tertullian, *de Oratione* 16; Apuleius, *Florida* I 1; Propertius II 28, 45; Plutarch, *Numa* XIV; *Aet. Rom.* 25 (270D); Ovid, *Fasti* VI 307. There is a general discussion by F. Dolger, *Antike und Christentum*, v 116-36. Sitting after prayer seems to be Roman.

[Addendum: A. Alföldi canvasses the possibility that καθέραι is equivalent to Latin *sedet* or *praesidet*. If such an equivalence were accepted, this calendar might include a series of acts to be carried out by an important member of the Roman imperial bureaucracy.]

8 κέρραι: At the end of the line, perhaps ἀποτίει τὰν προτεθῶν as in I. 5.  
9-10 . . . contest celebrated as a result of a bequest . . . he offers incense in the Sarapeum and sits in the Lageum . . .

The paragraph shows that a new anniversary begins at this line. As pointed out by H. C. Youtie, the first letter is probably κ (cf. οικον in I. 2) rather than β. Possibly (ἀγώνος [ἐφηβ]ικῶν ἀγλ[ο]μῆν[ων]; but [γυμν]ικῶν, [μουσι]κῶν, [ἵππικ]ικῶν could not be excluded; καθάλευσις is used in 75 12 of 'the body of an inheritance'. The prizes in an ephobic contest at Oxyrhynchus 'on the same terms as the Antinoites now compete' were endowed by will in A.D. 200 by Aurelius Horion. Horion recalls that the day of victory over the Jews (τὴν τῶν ἐπινεικίων ἡμέραν) was still annually commemorated in Oxyrhynchus (705 = *W. Chr.* 153).

10 ἐπιθύει: i.e. 'offer incense', disting. from θύει, 'offer a sacrificial victim'.  
11-13 'On the day on which the deified Hadrian . . . the city . . . gymnasiarch(s) enters the Sebasteum and sacrifices and the . . . and goes in procession and sacrifices and sits in the Lageum, horse-rites.'

11 A new entry probably begins here in view of the verbs of the following two lines. The opening phrase would seem to be of the type ἐν ἡ ἡμέρῃ, reminiscent of the Latin *eo die*, e.g. *Feriale Cumanum* (ILS 108) *passim*. A verb such as εἰσῆλθεν seems to be required. If the reference is not to Rome (cf. P. Oslo III 77, 19-20, Aurelius' return εἰς τὴν βασιλῖδα 'Ρώμην) but to somewhere in Egypt, the date between 30 Nov. and 15 Dec. seems to forbid a reference to Alexandria, and makes a place in Upper Egypt inevitable (cf. introduction). P. Oslo III 77 records an ἐπιθυσία on Choiak 5 = 1 Dec. and a commemoration of Hadrian's second decennium on Choiak 17 = 13 Dec.

Hadrian's visit to Egypt was planned well in advance (cf. van Groningen, *Studi in Onore di Calderini-Paribeni* II 253-6, collections for his *παρουσία* at Oxyrhynchus were being made in December A.D. 129). The time-table of his visit has been reconstructed by W. Weber, *Untersuchungen z. Gesch. des Kaisers Hadrianus* (1907), pp. 246 seqq. He seems to have arrived in Alexandria in the summer (before the end of August, for one coin, marking his arrival, is dated to year 14, though most belong to year 15); to have reached the site of Antinoopolis by 30 Oct. (date of Antinous' death); to have 'heard' Memnon at Thebes on 21 Nov. (*CIG* 4727 and addenda); Choiak, the month rechristened *Hadrianus* runs from 27 Nov. to 26 Dec. The return journey took place in December and January.

12 Σεβαστείον: the evidence for metropolite and village shrines of the reigning emperors is collected by C. Kunderewicz, *JJP* XIII (1961), pp. 123-9.

13 Perhaps [κω]μ[ά]ζαι, cf. *W. Chr.* 41 IV 14, παρέτυχεν (ὁ στρατηγός) κομμάζαι εἰς ἔθους ἀγομ[έ]νῃ Ἰεῖδος θεᾶς μερίστη.

14-15 . . . on the birthday of the deified Verus enters the Sebasteum and sacrifices and . . . on the steps of the processional way and into the Sarapeum and . . .

14 On the distinction between the term γενέθλια (used in the Oslo calendar) and γενέσια, cf. Eitrem and Amundsen's note in P. Oslo III, p. 49, n. 1, corrected by C. H. Roberts, P. Merton I 40, 4.

16 The term διπλατριμ( ) is baffling.

17 The date may be the birthday of Titus, Tybi 4 = 30 Dec., or more probably Tybi 29 = 24 Jan., the birthday of Hadrian.

21 Fragment II: this fragment offers two more shrines (\**Ηρακλείον* I. 26, τὸ Ἀπολλ[ωνεῖον] (?) I. 27, cf., e.g., 1449, 4 where Grenfell and Hunt equate Apollo with Horus), and a mention (? sacrifice) to the Nile in I. 25. It also offers puzzles of articulation and interpretation in ll. 23-24 to which I have no answer. *κουριτω* [I. 24 might be connected with *κουριάω*, *κουρίωμος*, and refer to a festival of dedication of hair on reaching manhood.

## 2554. PREDICTIONS BY ASTROLOGY

Plate III (fr. 3)

Third century

This text is written on the verso of 2546, Manetho's *Apotelesmatica*. Since it is written upside down in relation to the Manetho the numeration of the fragments here is illogical, but for comparison of recto and verso I have let the same numbers stand. There are traces of three columns. The ends of the lower part of col. I are on fr. 1, the top of col. II is on fr. 2, the foot on fr. 1 again. Then there is a gap of three columns, since the rather broad columns (c. 15 cm.) are almost as wide as those of the hexameters on the recto (c. 17 cm.). Fr. 4 contains the ends of lines from the top of the succeeding column, fr. 3 the ends of lines from the foot of the same column.<sup>1</sup>

The text consists of annual predictions by the stars. The most puzzling feature of these is that the rise of the Nile is forecast for each year, and not by cubits only, but including palms and digits. In one year the 'king' (βασιλεύς) will die in his own house, then sundry disasters will follow, after which the 'king' will be great and punish his adversaries. In the context of predictions for a particular year the only meaning I can attribute to these statements is that the Roman emperor will die and be replaced by another. The other two possibilities that occur to me seem less likely. The king could be some allegorical figure, such as the vague new ruler foretold in the Potter's Oracle (2332 65 n.), but hardly in a prediction for a particular year. Or perhaps βασιλεύς could be an astrological description of the sun, like παντοκράτωρ (cf. *Greek Horoscopes*, no. 46 1). Certain of the words have astronomical significances, e.g. θρόνος, οἶκος, but I cannot find a connected meaning for the sentences in this way and, what seems more important, such astronomical details would not be on the same plane of interest as the foreknowledge of a charm for the year (e.g. I II 14) and the height of the Nile.

<sup>1</sup> The following scrap of 2554, consisting of parts of 6 ll. and the top margin, has lately been identified. It is blank on the recto and so adds nothing to 2546.

]ακαταστασιακαμ[  
]εται αλεξητηριον[  
]καθεκαστηριονατο[  
]αβασσωσταμ[  
]ηλοι χ εωστ.[  
(vac.) [  
]ηλιου. . . [

5



## Fr. 3

13×30 cm. Foot

Col. iii  
 ]].[  
 ]κ[  
 ]σεται ἢ μεγάλη  
 ]τόν θρόνον καί  
 ].[...].σῆα[.]πε.θ.[.]ται ἐφ' ᾧ ο.χ.  
 ]ται[.]α ἀποκλεισθή[σεται]ι καὶ λειμὸς ἔσται  
 ]τα[.]β]ακλιεύς ἐν ἐσχ[άτω] μέρει τοῦ ἔνιαυτοῦ  
 ]ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰδίου θρόνου κ]αὶ καλῶς ἔσται τη  
 ἀλεξητήριον τοῦ ἔτους· πτε[ρόν] ἴβειος Θεαίας εα  
 10 ]....δ[.]πως πορεύη π[.]...ξένης περιάψαι  
 εἰς τὸν βρ]αχίονά σου καὶ ἐπανελθ[ῶν] πάλιν εἰς τὸν ἴδι-  
 ον τόπον] ἀποκαταθῶ δθεν ἐβά[σ]ταξας· τῆς ἀναβάσεως  
 μέτρα ] θεοῦ πῆχ(εῖ) ἰβ]βαλ(αισταί) γ δά[κ]λυ(ο) α  
 ].[...].ενον ἡλιακὸν φῶ[σ] δ] δὲ προγεγραμμέ-  
 15 νος θεὸς ε]νοδοεῦει ἐν τῶν τῆς ζ[ώθε]ως δεκανῶν καλου-  
 μένων ]ρ[.] ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει [ῆ (?)]. Ἐὖθ γίνεται κύμ-  
 φωνος πῆ ἐν]τ[ῆ] κ[ε] τοῦ Ἐπειὸς ἀνατολ[ῆ] τοῦ ἄστρου ὥστε πῆν  
 (?) τοῦ Ἐ]π[ε]ί φ καθ' Ἑλληνας εἶ[ν]α κατὰ ἀρχαίους Ὁῶθ α

## Fr. 4

6×11 cm. Top

Col. iii  
 ]μενοσθεος  
 ]ανωνκαλ[.]υ  
 ]κα. α εντουτω  
 ]ενδεηνα  
 5 ]σσυμφωνησει  
 ]συμφοροικαι  
 ]αλωνωνπληθυν  
 ]ανωμालησου  
 ]εκηηροικαι  
 10 ]ετοσκαθαινα  
 ]ανθρω[.]ων

i ii 3 seqq. '... and the seed will grow well at first... sky... tumult and war... and it will go badly with the rich. Their arrogance will be cast down and their goods confiscated and delivered over to others who have... and the king will leave his own throne and another will overpower him, that is, the king will die in his own house. And a great man... will be ruined. And the poor will be exalted and the rich humbled. Famine and sickness and... will appear in many places and... of liquids will... But after this the king will be great and will punish his adversaries. Talisman for the year. Draw on a strip of linen that has no... (magic word)... sacrificing and pouring libations... speaking the name of Souie... Height of the flood: 14 imperial cubits, 4 palms, ? digits. 14 cubits.'

i i 6 Probably ἀναβάσ[εως] and the end of an entry, cf. ii 7.

10 ]...συν: cf. 3 iii 14 and 4 iii 1, which suggest δ δὲ προγεγραμμένος θε]ος συν[οδοεῦει ἐν τῶν τῆς ζώθεως δεκανῶν | [καλουμένῳ] σμα[τ]?

11 ]σμα: probably the name of the second decan of Capricorn, i.e. σμα (v. *Greek Horoscopes*, p. 6). The line above could indicate a numeral, i.e. 241, but it seems more likely that it denotes a non-Greek word, cf. ii 15, 16.

2 ii 2 cf. Hephaestion, ed. Engelbrecht, p. 94, 16 seq. καὶ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις εἰσάγει γενέσθαι... 8 ἀλεξητήριον: cf. i ii 14, 3 iii 9. The next four lines are perhaps instructions for making a figurine as a charm, or for drawing a magic figure.

10 ἦτω possibly ἦτω = ἔστω cf. the imperative in i ii 14.

12 Possibly γηραι for γηραι (= γήρα) cf. LSJ s.v. γήρος. For γήρας ὄψεως cf. A. Dieterich, *P. Mag. Lugd. Batav.* v 20.

i ii 7/8 cf. Engelbr. 92, 16 seq., 94, 16 seq. (Χρόνος μὲν ἐν Καρκίνῳ ἐγκαταλείψων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θρόνον τὸν τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα καὶ ἀποθανεῖσθαι σημαίνει...), 95, 17.

10 -σῆμος: if this is a name Dornseiff-Hansen give Ἐπίσῆμος, Ἀρίσῆμος, but perhaps something like 'with a famous name' is intended. Cf. Engelbr. 85, 4 σημαίνει... τοὺς ἐπίσῆμος ταπεινοὺς; 96, 30... θάνατον μεγάλων ἀνδρῶν.

ἰψωθῆσονται: cf. Engelbr. 95, 3 seq. τοὺς τε πέντηρας πλουτήσων καὶ τοὺς πλουτοῦς πτωχεύσων.

11 ]]θμος: the trace is an upright with a slight convexity to the left which suggests ε, but κλαυθμός is the most appropriate word that I can find, cf. *CCAG* 7, 169, 12 λύπαι καὶ πένθη καὶ κλαυθμοὶ ἔσονται... Perhaps κλαυθμός, cf. Engelbr. 93, 31 ἰσχυροὺς καύσαντας καὶ ἐμπήσειε.

13 seq. cf. Engelbr. 92, 9 seqq. τῷ τε τῆς χώρας βασιλεὶ νίκην κατὰ τὸν ἀντιπάλον.

14 ἀλεξητήριον: cf. P. Warr. 21 recto i 23 φυλακτήριον). σελήνη[σ]ρα γ περιελήσας φοροῦ ἀριστερῷ βραχ(ίον).

βύσανον βάκος: cf. *PGM* i 1, 276 seq., 292; ii 7, 209, 665; 8, 85, 145.

17 θεῖοι apparently equals βασιλικοὶ i.e. the royal cubit of 7 palms and 28 digits, which was retained for measuring the Nile, cf. Segre, *Metrologia* pp. 4, 9. *TAPA* lxxxvii (1956), p. 56, n. 5; but perhaps the translation should be 'sacred' rather than 'imperial', especially in this context, since there was a sacred Nile cubit in the Alexandrian Serapeum until Constantine moved it to a church (*Jahrbuch für Antike u. Christentum* ii (1959), p. 33).

4 iii i cf. 3 iii 14 n.

2 ]ανων καλ[σ]υ: cf. 3 iii 15.

7 ἀλώνων πληθων[θείων]? 'with full threshing floors'. The picture changes in 3 iii 6. This perhaps suggest there ταμ[ε]ία ἀποκλεισθήσεται but the vertical before the gap seems to be isolated.

8 ]ανωμालησου: cf. ἀνωμαλεῖν 'to suffer ups and downs of fortune'.

9 ]εκηηροικαι: Locker, *Rückläufiges Wb.* has nothing under -έκηρος, -ός, -όν, -όν, -εκήρη, -έκηρη.

3 iii 9 ἴβειος Θεαίας: according to Aelian, *de nat. anim.* ii 38, the ibis dies if taken from Egypt. According to O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt* ii 200, one variety (*ibis falcinellus*) visits the European coasts of the Mediterranean and mummies of it have been found, but the true sacred bird (*ibis aethiopicus* or *religiōsa*) does not travel north of Egypt. There is also a bird called 'tech' or 'technj', sacred to Thoth, but not the usual ibis, v. Roscher, s.v. Thoth, col. 841 § (b). For the feathers in magic, v. *PGM* i 1 246, 3 620, 4 46, 804, ii 7 327.<sup>1</sup>

14 seqq. This passage seems to suggest by its reference to the rise of Sirius (17 ἀνατολ[.]... τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> I now see that this is probably the same as the herb called 'ibis-wing' or 'Thoth's feather', v. *JEA* xx (1934) p. 186. But *Θαείας* remains obscure.

ἄστρου) that the 'predictions' are based on the calculation of the position of some star or stars at the time of the heliacal rising of Sirius, which marked the beginning of the new year for the ancient Egyptians. Ll. 14-16 give the position of a star in a particular decan, the sky being divided into 36 regions called decans, 3 for each sign of the zodiac. Ll. 16-18 seem to me to give the date of the rising of Sirius in the fixed Greco-Roman calendar of Egypt, i.e. Epeiph 25 = 19 July, and in the calendar according to the Egyptian 'wandering' year. The 'wandering' year lacked a leap year so that the first day of the year fell one day earlier every four years. In the Roman period the Egyptian calendar was regularized by the addition of another intercalary day every four years, but this calendar, καθ' Ἑλληνας, was often neglected by the Egyptians, who for reasons of national pride preferred the original version καθ' ἀρχαίους. Thoth 1st was meant to coincide with the heliacal rising of Sirius but it fell gradually earlier until in A.D. 140-3 they again coincided. Professor Neugebauer thinks that it is more likely that a general statement is being made here, namely that the canonical date in the fixed year was Epeiph 25, cf. Hephæstion i ch. 23 παρετήρησαν δὲ οἱ παλαιγενεῖς σοφοὶ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τὰς τῆς Κώθως (= Κινός) ἐπιτολὰς ἐν ταῖς εἰκοσιπέντε τοῦ μηνός Ἐπιφί καὶ τούτων ἀποτελέσματα ἐξέθεντο . . . . In my opinion the middle of the series is not the place for a general statement of this fact and the phrase ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει seems to me to fit oddly at the end of the συνοδῆσαι sentence and well at the beginning of the next sentence, which would run 'In this year the 7th day of Thoth (sc. according to the ancients) is coincident with the rising of Sirius upon the 25th Epeiph (sc. according to the Greeks), so that the 7th day of Epeiph according to the Greeks is, according to the ancients, 1st Thoth'. There are 25 possible cases of this equation and they cover a period of 100 years within which this entry must fall. The beginning and end of the series are:

Thoth Anc.	=	Epeiph Grk.	Thoth Anc.	=	Epeiph Grk.	
1	=	25	1	=	25	i.e. in A.D. 140-3
2	=	25	1	=	24	" " " 144-7
		and so on to				
24	=	25	1	=	2	" " " 232-5
25	=	25	1	=	1	" " " 236-9

Some further progress can be made on the hypothesis that this sort of statement would need to be made only in entries concerning the first year of each quadrennium since it would apply also to the next three. This entry, then, should be one of a series stretching from A.D. 140 by intervals of 4 to A.D. 236. There are three columns of c. 30 lines missing between the extant cols. ii and iii and the length of three of the next entries can be measured as 23 lines (1 i 10-2 ii 13), c. 20 lines (2 ii 14-1 ii 18), and c. 22 lines (4 iii 1-3 iii 3). An entry ends at the foot of col. ii and another begins, after the three-column gap, at the beginning of col. iii. This gap of c. 90 lines was probably filled by four entries at an average of 22½ lines to the entry. From this it can be calculated that the entry which I have supposed to contain a 'prediction' of the death of an emperor (1 ii 8 seq. v. introd.) is the sixth before this one, the one that may fall in the series A.D. 140, 144, etc., to A.D. 236. On the same basis the earlier entry should fall in the series A.D. 134, 138, etc., to A.D. 230. Since the predictions are probably meant to cover the period from one rising of Sirius to the next, the series is more precisely 19 July, A.D. 134-19 July, A.D. 135, 19 July, 138-19 July, 139, etc. Assuming that it is true to deduce from the exactness of the figures for the Nile rise that the 'predictions' were made after the events (v. introd. para. 3), this series should include the date of the death of an emperor. The only such date that it does include is that of the death of Septimius Severus (4 Feb., A.D. 211). ἕτερος ἐπικρατῆσαι αὐτοῦ could refer to Caracalla's attempts to get rid of his father. μέγας ἔσται καὶ τιμωρήσει τοὺς ἀντιπάλους could refer to the series of murders that took place shortly after his accession (RE ii 2444). Severus died in York, but that is not necessarily inconsistent with ἐν Ἰδίῳ οἴκῳ.

The entries would cover the years as follows:

1 i 3-6	A.D. 208-9
1 i 10-2 ii 13	209-10
2 ii 14-1 ii 18	210-11

four entries lost

4 iii 1-3 iii 13	215-16
3 iii 14-18	216-17

The uncertainty of the assumptions on which this reconstruction is based will be obvious. Note also that I have not been able to fit the words in 3 iii 4 and 7/8 to the historical circumstances of summer A.D. 216.

3 iii 15 θεός: cf. 4 iii 1 θεός probably means 'planet' or 'sun', cf. *Greek Horoscopes*, glossary s.v.

16 For the decans and their Egyptian names v. *Greek Horoscopes*, pp. 5 seq. If the spacing could be relied upon, probably οὐα]ρ[ε (2nd of Gemini) or φωνο]ρ[ε (3rd of Gemini) would be best, but the 1st and 2nd of Aries, 2nd of Taurus, and 1st of Aquarius are all possible.

κύρι[[φώνος? e.g. The word should mean 'coincident with'.

### 2555. HOROSCOPE

Plate IX

c. 15.5 × 22 cm.

Later first century A.D.

An elaborate but unfinished horoscope for 13 May, A.D. 46. The papyrus has suffered considerably from warping and stripping, and the ink is much rubbed at the left and towards the end of the text. The writing runs parallel with the fibres; the reverse is blank.

The hand has some interest as a dated example of the decorated style. Most of the uprights are footed with emphatic serifs (generally horizontal, sometimes oblique); ε θ ο and c are round rather than oval; β usually has the open-topped cursive shape. Consecutive letters often join, but without the aid of added linking-strokes. Despite individual differences, the general effect is much like that of the London papyrus of Hyperides *In Philippidem* (Kenyon, *Classical Texts*, pl. 2)—an earlier and more elaborate representative of the style. The writing is not consistent (thus γ appears both with and without serif), and becomes coarser in execution as the writer's pen loses its point.

The astrological data given by this horoscope are unusually full and interesting: but the bad state of the papyrus often makes reading and interpretation difficult. I am most grateful to Professor O. Neugebauer and Mr. G. J. Toomer, who have shown the greatest patience and kindness in helping to make the text more intelligible: I have been able to cite many of their comments in the notes.



11-14 JUPITER. *Computed*: longitude Cancer 21°. *Text*: Cancer 23° 45' (Neugebauer).

13  $\text{ἰδίω ἠὲ ἰώματι}$ : on Exaltation and Depression see *Greek Horoscopes*, p. 7. No genitive follows  $\text{ἰώματι}$  here, so that  $\text{ἰδίω}$  is a certain supplement. For a body to be in *its own* depression or exaltation is important; otherwise the exaltation and depression can be omitted (2-10).

13  $\text{ἑρῖο(ς) Ἑρμοῦ}$ : on the 'Egyptian' system this would be correct only for Cancer 13°-19°.

13-14  $\text{δωδεκα[τημέριον]ν}$ : the final  $\nu$  stands on a detached strip. If the strip is wrongly attached here, we might read  $\text{δωδεκα[τημέριον Ἀἴ]ν(ε)}$  which removes an unexplained indentation. (There are no obvious signs of ink at the beginning of 14, but the papyrus is very much rubbed.)

15-18 MARS. *Computed*: longitude Gemini 15°. *Text*: [Gemini] 27° + (Neugebauer). The House should be of Mercury, and the Terms of Venus.

15  $\kappa\zeta$ . . .  $\zeta$  is a probable reading. I cannot read the substantial traces which follow: apparently a vertical, closely followed by an oblique stroke which rises from left to right and is joined at the top by a long right-pointing horizontal; there is no sign of a fraction stroke. The dodecatemorian (18), if correctly calculated on system A, presupposes a longitude of 27½° or less. Perhaps, as Dr. Vandoni suggests, the sign after  $\kappa\zeta$  is only an eccentrically written L, i.e.  $\lambda$ . After this there are no further traces of ink, but presumably the House must have been named here (cf. 12 seq.).

16  $\text{ταπεινώματι}$ : presumably  $\pm 2$   $\text{ἰδίω ταπει}$  (13, note): but what stood at the beginning of the line? [ $\text{ἐν ἰδίω}$  (Neugebauer)?—Strictly speaking (according to the system set out in *Greek Horoscopes*, p. 7) Gemini has no Depression—that of Mars belongs to its next neighbour, Cancer: compare *Greek Horoscopes*, no. 95. 77 seq.]

19 The  $\Lambda$ , like that of  $\text{Ἀρ[η]ς}$ , stands out in the margin. No doubt it began  $\text{Ἀφροδίτη}$ , but there are no certain traces of ink on the rest of this line or on the rest of the sheet.

## 2556. HOROSCOPE

6.8 × 12.5 cm

A.D. 161

α (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου καὶ

Οὐήρου τῶν κυρίω[ν]

Μεσορῆ κβ εἰς κγ

ῶρα ζ γγ[κτός]

5 Ἡλιος Λέοντι

Σελήνη Κρόνο(ς) Κορπίω

Ἄρης Ἑρμῆς Παρθένω

Ζεὺς Ταύρω

Ἀφροδείτη Καρκίνω

10 ὠρόσκοπος Διδύμοι(ς)

ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ

'Year 1 of Antoninus and Verus the lords, Mesore 22nd to 23rd, 7th hour of the night. Sun in Leo, Moon and Saturn in Scorpio, Mars and Mercury in Virgo, Jupiter in Taurus, Venus in Cancer, Horoscope in Gemini, good luck.'

1 seqq. Ll. 5-11 were written first, and then the date added in ll. 1-4, which were crammed into the space of two ordinary lines. The given date 1 a.m. 16 Aug., A.D. 161 for the recorded positions agrees exactly with that reached by computation (information from Otto Neugebauer, who is to include this text as no. 161, viii in his supplementary list of horoscopes.

4 Possibly  $\text{τῆ[ς] νικτό[ς]}$  or  $\text{τ(ῆ)ς νικτό[ς]}$  should be read.

7 Or possibly  $\text{Παρθένω}$ .

## 2557. HOROSCOPE

12.5 × 8.7 cm.

Third to fourth century

A horoscope for 21 September, A.D. 278: one or more lines are missing at the foot. Ll. 1 to 3 have been strengthened on the back with an additional strip of papyrus.

The reverse bears six or more lines of cursive, written along the fibres and very much faded. These lines seem not to correspond exactly with the line-ends which can be seen on the strengthening strip (though the writing may well be the same): the reinforcement was probably added when the papyrus was reused for the horoscope.

As often in horoscopes, the hand is ambitious and carefully written, but inconsistent. The writer seems to have aimed at the style in which  $\epsilon\theta\omicron c$  are tall, narrow, and straight-backed: but his  $\omicron$  is as often small and round.  $\mu$  has a deep bow;  $\omega$  is large and rounded.  $\alpha$  has the cursive form;  $\eta$  and  $\nu$  appear in both cursive and capital shapes. The writing is along the fibres.

I am indebted to Mr. G. J. Toomer for the following astrological notes.

'Horoscope for +278, 21 September (3rd hour):

	<i>computed</i>	<i>text</i>	$\Delta$
Sun	Virgo 28°	Libra	-2°
Mercury	Libra 8°	Virgo	+8°
Venus	Libra 9°	Libra	
Mars	Scorpio 29°	Scorpio	
Jupiter	Aquarius 25°	(Missing)	
Saturn	Scorpio 18°	Scorpio	
Horoscope	Scorpio 7°	Scorpio	

(Horoscope calculated with Theon's *Handy Tables*, third clima; the rest with modern tables.) Agreement is perfect except for the sun and Mercury. In the latter case the error is largish, but Mercury is a fast-moving planet and would be in Virgo seven days later; such a discrepancy would be easily possible with ancient tables.'

ἀγαθῆ πύχη γένε[. . .]. . .

ξ Πρόβου (ἔτους) δ' ἠ[ὠ]θ κδ

ῶρα γ ἡμέρα[ς]

Ἡλιος Ἀφροδίτη

5 Ζυγῶ Ὠρο(κόπος)

Κρόνος Ἄρης Κορπίω

Ἑρμ[ῆς] Παρθένω

. . . . .

'With good fortune. Nativity of . . . Probus year 4, Thoth 24, 3rd hour of the day. Sun, Venus in Libra. Horoscope, Saturn, Mars in Scorpio. Mercury in Virgo. . .'

1] . . . [ : the traces most resemble ]ω, followed by the feet of two uprights (e.g. 'Ωρη!). Yet the spacing suggests that the first trace should belong to the end of γένε[σ]ς.

At the line end there is space for two letters, and then the papyrus is broken away.

2 ρ : the sign resembles a ρ with a curling tail, cut by an oblique stroke just below the head. Of the symbols known to me, that for *ἐκατοντάρχη* comes closest: γένεσις X ἐκατοντάρχου?

Θ[ω]θ ρδ : the first θ is certain, and determines the month; κ is just discernible, and has astronomical confirmation (the sun would not be in Libra on Thoth 4 or 14).—The spacing perhaps favours Θ[ό]θ.

7 'Ερμ[ῆ]ς : the space allows 'Ερμ[ῆ]ς Ζεύς : but it is the scribe's custom to leave a gap after the first word of the line. (And of course such a reading would be astronomically false.)

5 ωροδ

## OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

### 2558. EDICT OF CLODIUS CULCIANUS

13 × 9.5 cm.

c. A.D. 303–6

This fragmentary edict announced some measure of the tetrarchs; the details are obscure. The text is written along the fibres in a hand which, at its best, approximates to the chancery style: this is the more interesting because the heading *ἀντίγραφον ἐξ ἀντιγράφου* suggests a local copy: cf. P. Oxy. xix, p. 83, and E. G. Turner, *Mus. Helv.* xiii (1956), p. 236.

(2nd hd.) ἀ(ντίγραφον) ἐξ ἀ(ντιγράφου)

Κλώδιος Κουρκιανός ὁ διασημώτατος [ἐπαρχος Αἰγύπτου λέγει·  
[ἡ θ]εία πρόνοια τῶν πάντα νεικίωντων αὐτοκρ[ατο]ρων  
[κα]ὶ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων καισάρων σπουδῆν [ . . . ]  
[ . . . ] τοὺς ἐκάστης πόλεως πολεΐτας ἀλλὰ καὶ το[ὺς]  
5 [ . . . ] ν ὠρμημένους τὰς ἰδίας α . [ . . . ] ρακ μῆ ε . κ α [ . . . ]  
[ . . . ] κατηξίωσαν διαταγμα[ . . . ] α [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ] τουτοκ[ . . . ]  
[ . . . ] α [ . . . ] [ . . . ] α . εκ . [ . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . . . ]  
κ [ . . . ] κ ν [ . . . ] ρ [ . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . . . ]  
ενοικ [ . . . ]  
10 [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ]

1 κουλ'κιανος 4 Perhaps ]ρ ἀλλὰ 5 ἰδιας

'Clodius Culcianus The most eminent prefect of Egypt says: the divine forethought of our all-conquering emperors, the Augusti and the most illustrious Caesars, is anxious . . . not only the citizens of each city but also those who come from . . . they have thought good . . . an edict . . .'

1 Κλώδιος Κουρκιανός: the known limits of this prefecture are 28 Feb. 303 and 29 May 306 (Lallemand, *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* xi (1951), pp. 186 seqq.; Hübner, *Der Praefectus Aegypti* 108). Diocletian and Maximian abdicated on 1 May 305: it is not clear which set of tetrarchs is referred to in ll. 2–3.

[ἐπαρχος Αἰγύπτου λέγει: the supplement is certain, cf. *Aeg.* xviii (1938), p. 24, n. 1.

2–3 The traces at the beginning of l. 3 exclude a genitive termination: the emperors were not named. Accordingly, no supplement in 2 will much exceed the 20 letters required in l. 1. We can choose between *αὐτοκρ[ατο]ρων ἡμῶν τῶν σεβαστῶν* (cf. P. Cair. Isid. 1. 2–3) and *αὐτοκρ[ατο]ρων ἡμῶν σεβαστῶν*] (cf. P. Cair. Isid. 5. 4–5).

4–5 'Not only the metropolitans but also those who come from villages'? The contrast as in P. Cair. Isid. 1. 15–16. Cf. Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>2</sup> 594, note.

5 α . [ . . . ] ρακ ε κ α [ : possibly ἀρο[δ]ρακ ἐκκα[ταλείψαι, but neither ρο nor γ are satisfactory as readings.

6 [ . . . ] κατηξίωσαν: this awkward spacing is hard to avoid, unless κ was extraordinarily large.

## 2559. LETTER OF ARRIUS EUDAEMON

9.5 × 22.8 cm.

Second century

This interesting letter comes from official circles, and its style reflects the fact: the studied construction of ll. 5–8 and the *sperrung* in ll. 9–11 are quite out of the ordinary. The text is written along the fibres: the main hand, upright and informal with many ligatures, recalls *Greek Literary Hands* 17A, and the hand of the cursive subscription also points to the second century. On the verso stand the address and a docket, the first word of the address in a chancery hand. The completed letter was folded six times from right to left. At the time of folding, the ends of ll. 1–2 were still wet: presumably these lines were written last.

Ἄρριος Εὐδαίμων Διονυσίῳ  
 τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.  
 ταύτην πρώτην καὶ μόνην  
 ἔλαβόν σου [ἐ]πιστολὴν διὰ  
 5 Σαραπιακοῦ. [δ]τι δὲ αὐτός τε  
 ἔρρωσαι καὶ π[ο]ῖς ἔργους ἔνκει-  
 και καὶ ἔμοι σωθέντι συνήδη,  
 καλῶς ποιεῖς. προσδοκῶ δέ  
 10 σε ἤξειν κατὰ τὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 πρὸς τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ ἔναγχος πε-  
 ρὶ τῆς συμφωνίας ἐπισταλέντα.  
 ἡ σύμβιός μου καὶ τὰ παῖδιά σε ἀ-  
 σπάξεται. σὺ παρ' ἡμῶν του .υ-  
 ρίλλουσι προσαγόμενοι καὶ τὴν  
 15 μητέρα [[Στεφανοῦν]] Δημητροῦν.  
 (2nd hd.) ἔρρωσθαί σε εὔχομαι, ἀδελφε  
 τιμιώτατε.

VERSO (3rd hd.) Διονυσίῳ (1st hd.?) ἀδελφῷ στρα(τηγῶν) Ἀπολλ(ωνοπολίτου)  
 (4th hd.) π(αρά) Ἄρρι(ο)υ Εὐδαίμ(ονος)

6 Possibly εχκει· 9 ὑπο 10 ἰδιω Verso 1 στρα/ απολλ 2 π' αρρῆ° ευδαιμ'

'Arrius Eudaemon to Dionysius his brother, greetings. This is the first and only letter I've had from you—the one Sarapiacus brought. I am glad that you yourself keep well, and apply yourself to your work, and share my happiness at my recovery. I expect you will be coming, in accordance with the instructions which the Idios Logos recently issued about the agreement. My wife and children send you their best wishes. Present our compliments to . . . and your mother Demetrous. (2nd hd.) I pray for your health, most honoured brother.

(Verso) 'To Dionysius my brother, strategus of the Apollonopolite nome.' (Docket) 'From Arrius Eudaemon.'

5–8 [δ]τι κ.τ.λ., καλῶς ποιεῖς: this construction must be added to Steen's list (*Class. et Med.* i 139 seqq.).

7 ἔμοι σωθέντι συνήδη: cf. Hdt. iii 36 Κροίσῳ μὲν συνήδεσθαι ἔφη περιέοντι; Men. *Dysk.* 965 seq. *συνήδοναι* κατηγορησιμῶς ἡμῶν; Longus iv 33 τῷ Διονυσοφάνει συνήδοντο παῖδα εὐρόντι; 1663 4 seq. *συνήδοναι* γε [τ]ῷ φίλῳ σου - - α. . . μῆψο (where the editors wrongly translate 'congratulate you on . . .').

13–14 του .υρίλλουσι: two letters stood after του; the ink is clear, but I cannot identify them in this hand. τὸς Κυρίλλουσι can be read only by assuming a malformed or corrected c and a quite anomalous κ.

15 [[Στεφανοῦν]]: this slip makes it clear that the two men were not literally brothers. ἀδελφός need mean no more than φίλος: cf. P. Mich. viii 521, 1, note.

VERSO. Henne lists no Dionysius as strategus for either Apollonopolite nome (*Liste des Stratèges* 1\*–2\*; 2–3); nor does Mussies, *P. Lugd. Bat.* xiv 15.

## 2560. OFFICIAL LETTER

14 × 20 cm.

A.D. 258

By this letter the strategus of the Lycopolite nome requires the strategus of the Hermopolite to arrest and deliver a certain doctor to his agents, who presumably carried the letter. The writer had first applied to the acting-nomarch of Antinopolis and a doctor of the same name as the wanted man had been arrested in that region and sent to Lycopolis. It then came to light that the man in question was to be found in a village of the Hermopolite nome. Most of the details of the case are lost in the extensive damage. There are traces of an address which ran downwards along the fibres of the verso but it is now illegible.



[.....] αιος δ κ[αί] Λαΐτος στρατηγός Λυκοπολίτου  
 [Αύρηλιώ Χαυρήμιου τῷ καὶ ζαρτιάτη στρατηγῷ Ἐρ-  
 μοπολίτου τῷ] φίλτάτῳ χαίρειν·  
 [.....] υπλιος ἢ καὶ ὡ[ς] ἄλλως χρηματίζων  
 5 [.....] ἐκ τ[ῆ]ς προνοίας καὶ κελευ-  
 [.....] ω, ου[.....] ἀπα[.....]  
 [.....] ελη[.....] αἰ[.....]  
 κα[.....] και[.....] υ[.....] π[.....] τῆως α. δ. ω  
 10 θη[.....] ου Αύρηλιώ Ὠρηγένει τῷ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ  
 διαδεχ[ομέν]ῳ τὴν νομαρχίαν τῆς Ἀντινόου πόλεως κα(ὶ)  
 ἐκε[ῖ]νο[ς] κατὰ τῆ[ν] αὐτοῦ ἐπιμέλειαν εὐρῶν δμῶνυμιον  
 αὐτοῦ ἀλλ[ο]ν τιν[α] ἰατρὸν ἀπ[ε]στευλεν ἐνταῦθα· ἐκεῖ-  
 νος δὲ ἔ[φη] αὐτῶ[ν] εἶναι ἐν κόμῃ Πύκει τοῦ Κουσσίου  
 αἰ[.....] τῷ ὅ[τι] πρό[ς] σε νομοῦ· εἰ ποίσεις κατὰ τὴν προσῶ-  
 15 αὐν σοι εἰ[πι]μ[ε]λ[ε]ϊαν τοῦτον παραδοὺς Κουλώτι Θα-  
 τρήτος κ[αί] Ἀ[.....] ετι Νείλου· ἀλλὰ καὶ Πεβῶν Καλλινίκου  
 Καλι. ου[.....] ρα[.....] ηναδ[.....]  
 τα ἐν τῇ ἐμ[.....] αραδ[.....] εικε[.....]  
 λοχ[.....] γνω[.....] ηρ[.....] τηρσει[.....] φς[.....] κε[.....]  
 20 λε[.....] του[.....] η[.....] επ[.....] ω[.....] υδ[.....] να[.....]  
 λιο[.....] δωρο[.....] οπ[.....] θη· (2nd hd.) ἐρρώσθ[αί] σε εὐχομαι  
 φίλτατε

(3rd hd.?) (ἔτους) ε' Ἀύτοκ[ρατό]ρων Κ[αί]σ[α]ρων Π[ο]υπλίον Λικυνίου Οὐαλεριαν(οῦ)  
 καὶ Πουπλίον [Λυ]κ[ο]νίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ Γαλληγοῦ Γερμανικῶν  
 25 Μεγίστων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτ[ε]ρῶν κα[ὶ] Π[ο]υπλίον Λικυνίου Κορηγίλου  
 Καλωνίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ τ[οῦ] ἐπιφαι[ε]στάτου Καίσαρος Σεβαστῶν·  
 Μεσορῆ ε·

'... aeus, also called Laetus, strategus of the Lycopolite nome, to Aurelius Chaeremon, also called Spartiates, strategus of the Hermopolite nome, his very dear friend, greeting.

'... Publius, or however else he is styled . . .

'... to Aurelius Horigenes, also called Apollonius, acting-nomarch of Antinoopolis, and he, in accordance with his duty, finding another doctor with the same name as the wanted man, sent him here. But he said that the wanted man was in the village of Pokis in the upper toparchy of Koussae in the nome under your control. You will do right in accordance with your duty if you hand the wanted man over to Koulos, son of Thatres, and As . . ., son of Nilus. . . .

(2nd hd.) 'I pray for your health, my very dear friend.

(3rd hd.) 'In the fifth year of the Emperors Caesars Publius Licinius Valerianus and Publius Licinius Valerianus Gallienus Germanici Maximi Pii Felices and Publius Licinius Cornelius Saloninus Valerianus, the most noble Caesar, Augusti. Mesore, 1.th.'

1 *Laētos*: a new strategus. The name is rare; Preis. *NB* has only one reference to it not in the name of the prefect Q. Maecius Laetus, i.e. P. Flor. 2, 50 (corr. Wilcken, *Archiv* iv 425); cf. *Recherches de Papyrologie* ii (1962), p. 40, l. 21.

2 Spartiates was already known as strategus, but less precisely dated, from P. Princ. ii 30. He was presumably an Oxyrhynchite, cf. P. Ryl. 683, 4, 2126 4 and perhaps 2107 3, 2139 6, 2140 2. In 2108 of A.D. 259 his name is perhaps to be restored in the first line, where the edition has *Αύρηλιος Σεραπίων ὁ καὶ . . . ἰσων στρατηγός Ἐρμου(πόλεως)*. *Σπαί* is a likely reading of the traces before the gap. Those after it are now very faint but the tail of the supposed ρ read by GH suits *Χαυρήμιου*, though this seems rather long for the space.

4 *Ποῦπλιος*: it is not clear who this was but it is perhaps more likely that he was an official who required the doctor's presence than that he was the doctor himself.

7 *ἑ[π]τ[ρ]ο[ς]* seems not unlikely, but I cannot confirm it.

8 *Ὠρηγένει*: a new (acting-) nomarch; perhaps the same man as no. 715 in Pistorius, *Indices Antinoopolitani* (p. 38), but the inscription referred to (*IGRR* 1143) is about twenty-seven years earlier, c. A.D. 232. The reference there to *IGRR* 1070 is false and I have not been able to correct it.

13 *Πύκει*: cf. *CPHerm.* 127, pp. 69, 70-75, 80, 83, 84. The name should be added to the list for *Koussētēs* *dyna* in J. Vergote, 'Toponymes anciens et modernes du nome Hermopolite', *Studi Calderiniani-Paribeni*, p. 384.

16 *Ἀ[.....] ετι*: not in Preis. *NB*.

*Πεβῶν*: not in Preis. *NB*, but cf. *Πεβῆς*, *Πεβῶς*.

17 *Καλι. ου*: perhaps the grandfather's name but I cannot identify it. κ is a possibility—the trace is an upright close to υ—and a *Καλ. κ* is known from SB 5335, 1.

19 *τῆς οὐδείας* is a possibility, which would suggest that the doctor was a debtor of the fiscus, but I cannot see anything to confirm this.

20 *Ἀψ[ρη]λιου*, [*Ἰα*]δωρο[.....]?

23 The date is in a more cursive hand than the body of the letter but it may be by the same scribe.

## 2561. OFFICIAL LETTER FROM HIERAX TO HERCULANUS

17.5 × 20 cm.

Between A.D. 293 and 305

This letter is written with a fine pen on papyrus of excellent quality in a handsome sloping cursive hand showing strong Latin influence; its language contains a high proportion of Latin words, some of which appear here for the first time in a Greek text. The reference in l. 15 to Galerius as 'Maximianus Caesar' dates it between 293, when he became Caesar, and 305, the year of his accession as emperor. The writer was evidently an official of high standing; the fact that he puts his name after that of the addressee implies that the latter was of even higher rank, or at least his equal (see Bell, Martin, Turner, and van Berchem, *The Abinmaeus Archive*, pp. 22 seq.). In ll. 4 seq. the writer speaks of a *praepositus* as τῷ κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ; there is further mention of *praepositi* in connexion with *petitiones* and *delegationes* in l. 9. The nature of the matters with which the writer is concerned suggests that the *praepositi* mentioned

1 Mr. T. C. Skeat at first suggested that he might be identical with [α]ξ ἐπιτροπ[ο]ς τῆς κατοικίῳ Θεηβ[α]ιδος, the writer of P. Lond. 1260, a peremptory letter (the date of which is missing) to the strategus of the Hermopolite nome about shipbuilding requirements, which he has published in full as an appendix to *Papyri from Panopolis in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin*, pp. 153 seqq. He has subsequently decided against the identification on the ground that 'Ἰέρ[α]ξ would hardly fill the lacuna; see ib., p. 154.

here are military commanders rather than civil officials, with duties comparable with those in which we find Flavius Abinnaeus and his colleagues engaged later in the fourth century; for their responsibilities in connexion with the collection of the *annona*, see the introduction of *The Abinnaeus Archive*, pp. 16 seq.; van Berchem, *L'Armée de Dioclétien et la réforme constantiniennne*, pp. 70 seq.; the present text supplies interesting information about the preliminary mechanism of these exactions. References to military *praepositi* as early as this or earlier are not uncommon in the papyri. P. Thead. 4 (A.D. 307) mentions one in command of the camp at Narmouthis in the Fayûm at a date close to that of our document; the Latin papyri from Dura have frequent references to military *praepositi* in the third century.

κύριω ἀδελφῶ Ἡρκευλιανῶ Ἰέραξ  
εὐ πράττειν.

τὰ μὲν γράμματά σου κομιδάμενος, κύριέ μου ἀδελφέ, πανή-  
γυριν ἤγαγον· ὡς δὲ καὶ τῷ κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῶ Ἡλιοδώρῳ  
5 τῷ πραιποσίτῳ διὰ δημοσίας ἐπιστολῆς φανερόν πεποί-  
ηκα, χρη. [ (c. 9 letters) ], [. . . ] α διὰ τῆ[ν θεί]αν τύχην  
τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν [καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτ]ων Καϊσάρων·  
κελεύεωρ δὲ οὕτῃ τοῦ κυρίου μου τῷ [δι]ασημοτάτου καθολικο[ῦ]  
πέμπειν τοὺς [π]ρ[αιπο]σίτους πρ[ὸ]ς με τὰς πετιτίνας καὶ  
10 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς τὴν τάξειν τὴν καθολικὴν, ἵνα αἱ δηλη-  
γατίονες ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου μου τῷ διασημο[τά]του καθολικο[ῦ]  
ἐκπεμφθῶ[ν] (c. 17 letters) [. . . ] ατα[. . . ] ετρατη[. . . ]  
προστάξαι . . . [ (c. 30 letters) ] . . . εν . . . ε  
επιω . . . [ (c. 23 letters) ] μίαν τοῦ] θανατίου  
15 γενεθλίου τοῦ δεσπότην ἡμῶν Μαξιμιανοῦ τοῦ Καϊσαρος,  
ἄλλην δὲ εἰσπενδίου καλανδῶν Σεπτεμβρίου, καὶ τὴν  
τρίτην καλύμου· αἱ μὲν πετιτίονες ἐπὶ τὸν κύριόν  
μου τὸν διασημοτάτον κ[α]θολικῶν ἀνηχέθησαν·  
ἐπιδὰν δὲ αἱ <δη>ληγατίονες ἀ[παν]τῶσιν, εὐθέως ὑπ' ἐμοῦ  
20 δι[ὰ] τὰ χυδρόμου ἐπ[ι]ταλίσσοντ[αι]. θεοὶ σε εὖ ζῶσιν  
μετὰ τῶ[ν] φιλιτάτων διὰ παν[το]σό.

Verso: ] . . . . . X ἀδελφῶ Ἡρκε[υλιανῶ].

1 Ἰέραξ 6 After χρη: bottom of diagonal: γ, η, κ, λ, μ, or π. After first lacuna: top of tall upright with loop, above line, the rest of which is lost; η likely, but ε or ι possible; see comm. ] αδια: the first α is of the type (with long tail) generally (but not always) used at the ends of words in this hand. First α separated from δια by a space 10 l. τὰξιν 12 After φ, a small space, but perhaps no letter lost before the next, read by us as θ, made large as in l. 20. After first lacuna, probably ] ημματα; next: bottom of diagonal. After this, narrow letter or perhaps nothing lost. Then probably ε.

Then indeterminate traces of two or three letters. Next, before ετρατη], ε probable. At end, trace of horizontal, probably top of c 13 At end: before εν: δε possible. Between εν and ε: first letter could be η or π; second r or v 14 l. ἐπ(ε)ί? After ο: π, or υ followed by first limb of (ε, γ) υ. Before lacuna: trace of diagonal 17 l. τρήτην 19 l. ἐπ(ε)ιδάν 21 Below line, beginning of horizontal stroke.

(ll. 1-12) 'To my lord and brother Herculanus: Hierax, best wishes. When I received your letter, my lord and brother, I made festival. But, as I have made clear to my lord our brother Heliodoros the praepositus through a public dispatch, . . . on account of (?) the divine fortune of our masters and of the most glorious Caesars; since, however, it is the order of my lord the most illustrious Catholicus that the praepositi shall send the applications to me, and (that these shall be forwarded) by me to the Catholicus' officium, so that the delegaciones (may be?) sent out by my lord the most illustrious Catholicus . . . ' (ll. 14-21) ' . . . one for the birthday donative of our lord Maximianus Caesar, another for stipendium of the first of September, and the third for salgamum, the applications have been delivered to my lord the most illustrious Catholicus; when the (de)legaciones arrive, they shall be dispatched to you by me immediately by courier. May the gods preserve you with all those dearest to you continually.' (Address:) ' . . . to his brother Herculanus'.

2 εὐ πράττειν: a form of greeting found occasionally at various dates in the Roman period, at the beginnings of letters (in place of the more usual χαίρειν): 822 (c. A.D. 1); 1770 6 (3rd cent.); P. Ross.-Georg. iii 2, 1 (3rd cent.), where see note; PSI 1445, 2 (3rd cent.); 2600, 2, 2603, 2 (4th cent.); P. Fouad 80, 2 (4th cent.); PSI 207, also from Oxyrhynchus and dated by its editors to the third or fourth century, begins: κυρίῳ μου πατρι Σεφάνῳ Ἰέραξ εὐ πράττειν. Also at the ends of letters, as PSI 833; 834.

3 seq. πανήγυριν: for metaphorical uses of the word, see LSJ, s.v. (i) 3.

5 διὰ δημοσίας ἐπιστολῆς: the expression is unfamiliar.

6 χρημ[άτων] μὲν δ[ι]ε[δ]ομ[ε]ν[α] (as Turner suggests) would make excellent sense and is possible; it must be noted, however, that the trace of a tall letter which might be read as ε (see textual n.) leaves rather little space for the end of the word. We should also have to assume that the second ε did not extend above the line, as it generally does in this hand. Or possibly χρῆ μ[ε]ν; but if so we cannot complete the restoration.

9 πετιτίνας: Youtie suggests that this word is equivalent to αἰτηταις, and represents an application of which the delegatio is the result.

9 seq. It seems inevitable to assume an anacoluthon here; see the translation. We owe the reading πρ[ὸ]ς με τὰς to Youtie.

12 ἐκπεμφθῶσιν, followed by an expression meaning 'I have decided', or sim.? ] ημματα τῆ τῶτ ετρατη[γοῦ] could be read at the end.

14 ἐπ(ε)ί? Cf. ἐπ(ε)ιδάν in l. 19. After this, δ π[. . . ] υ[. . . ] or οὖν [.] υ[. . . ]?

15 γενεθλίου, κ.τ.λ.: the date of Galerius' birthday was, as Skeat points out, hitherto unknown; this would suggest that it was about August.

17 καλύμου: this is the Latin salgamum, for which see Cod. Theod. 7, 9, §§ 1 seqq.; Cod. Just. 12, 42; both have the heading *De salgamo hospitibus non praebendo*; the latter begins: 'Ne quis comitum vel tribunorum aut praepositorum aut militum nomine salgami gratia, id est, culcitas lignum oleum a suis extorqueat hospitibus.' Skeat points out that it occurs in Greek also in P. Chester Beatty Panop. 2, 246; 286; both passages relating to the issue εἰς καλύμου λόγον of oil and salt to military units. καλαμαρικὸς is found in P. Ross.-Georg. iii 38, 11 seq. (6th cent.); see the editor's note there, p. 160; and (on salgama, καλαμαρίος, and related words) L. Robert, *Hellenica* xi-xii (1960), pp. 39 seqq.; M. Besnier in Daremberg-Saglio; A. Hug in P.-W. RE (1920), s.v. Salgama.

## 2562. EXTRACT FROM A REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

27 × 25 cm.

After A.D. 330

This text is written on the verso of 2570 (dated 329), along the fibres, in a fluent but inelegant hand. It consists of the latter part of an extract from some proceedings in which, after the reading of a pronouncement by the Prefect Flavius Magnilianus, of which only the end is preserved, an authority whose designation is probably to be expanded to *δ λογοθ(έτης)* is interrogating four peasants. Professor Youtie (to whom a number of readings and suggestions are due) interprets the situation as follows: Didymus (ll. 7; 9; 11) was the tax collector, but the four peasants were responsible for the collection in their village; they have been charged with collecting more than they have turned over to Didymus; and their answer—that at any rate they have produced the full amount of taxes which they were required to raise—is an evasive one, though perhaps not unsatisfactory from the government's point of view. The literal citation ends in l. 11 and the writer sums up the results of the case. In the concluding clause the writer of the extract seems to be quoting himself; unfortunately the mutilation of l. 15 makes the point of his remark obscure.

[ . . . . . ] . [ . . . ] . [ . . . ] . . . . . [ . . . ] . . . . .  
 [ . . . ] . . . . .<sup>10</sup> [ . . . ] ω παρασχέιν εἰ τὰς ἀποδείξεις τῆ[ς]  
 γεγενημένης ὑπὸ . . . π . . . δ . . . αἰρέσεως παρασχοῦ. ἔρρωσο.  
 μ[ε]τὰ [τῆ]ν ἀνάγκων / ὁ λογοθ(έτης?) εἶ(πεν)· τί λέγουσι <ν> οἱ παρόντες ἄγροικοι  
 5 Σεργῆος καὶ Πέτρ[ο]ς καὶ Χωρ[θ]ῆος καὶ Ὠρίων[ος]; ἐπηκούσατε  
 [τῆ]ς προσταξ[ε]ῖ[ω]ς τοῦ κυρίου [μου] δια(ημοτάτου) εἰπάρχου τῆ[ς] Αἰγυπτῶν  
 Φλαουίου Μαγνιλιανοῦ  
 [κα]ὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Διδύμου κατατεθέντων ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομημάτων  
 ὧ[ς] ἐλή πληρωθεῖς τῶν εἰδῶν αὐτοῦ κατὰ θεσ[θ] [ἀ] τοῖν καὶ ἡμῖς  
 τί ἐπράξατε ἐπὶ τούτοις ἢ πῆρ ἂ ἀπήτησεν ἡμᾶς ὁ Διδυμος.  
 10 οἱ προειρημένοι ἀ[π]ε[κ]ρ[η]σαν· εἶ τι ἐκρ[η]σθημεν ἐν τῷ κυριακῷ, δεδώκαμεν  
 καὶ ἐπίσθημεν πρὸς ἐαυτοῦς . . . . ε . . . . καὶ ἡ προφορὰ Διδύμου  
 καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀγροίκων ἐμφέρεται τοῖς ὑπ[ο]μνήμασιν· τῆ[ς] γὰρ πρ[ο]στ[α]ξ[ε]ῖ[ω]ς  
 τοῦ κυρίου μου δια(ημοτάτου) ἐπάρχου προσταττούσης τὰ ταῖς ἀληθείαις χρεω-  
 [στού]-  
 μενα ἀποκατασταθῆναι, τῷτο γεγένηται κατὰ τὰ προσφωνηθέντα,  
 15 ὡς εἶπο[ν] [μ] [ἐπια.] [υ] [ . . . ] [ε] [ . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . . . ] [ . . . ]  
 των.

2 l. ἀποδείξει 3 It would be possible to read *Ἀπρ* Προδρομῶ 4 λογοθ) seems the most likely reading, but there is an unexplained mark above the second ο. εἰ (= εἰ(πει)) : not quite certain; just possibly ἢρ(ώτησεν) 5 Πέτρος immediately corrected to Περώνιος 6 [δια(ημοτάτου)]; cf. 13, below 8 κατὰ θεσ[θ] [ἀ] : correction above cancelled letters. 1. ἡμεῖς 9 ἢ πῆρ : l. ὑπὸ (Youtie) το ἀ[π]ε[κ]ρ[η]σθημεν. ἐμφορῆς : the writing is partly effaced, but the reading is certain. Then a diagonal: λ, υ, or χ; this is followed by traces of probably four letters. After ε : perhaps . ε . . 15 l. εἶπον? The writer apparently began to write εἶπομεν

' . . . if he produces the proofs of the . . . which took place under . . . Farewell.' After the reading, the auditor (?) said: 'What do the peasants who are present, Serenus and Petronius and Chōous and Horion, say? You have heard the ordinance of my lord the most illustrious Prefect of Egypt, Flavius Magnilianus, and what has been deposed by Didymus in the memoranda, that he has received in full his charges in kind; depose yourselves therefore what you exacted besides this, beyond the demands made upon you by Didymus.' The aforementioned peasants answered: 'Whatever we were assessed in the government account, we paid; and we are satisfied for ourselves . . . .' And the deposition of Didymus and that of the peasants are entered in the memoranda; for the ordinance of my lord the most illustrious Prefect ordaining that the sums which were actually owing should be paid up, this was done according to directions; as I said (?) . . . parts in (the) memoranda.'

2 seq. εἰ τὰς ἀποδείξει <ε> . . . παρασχοῦ: cf. 2111, 5.

3 ὑπὸ, κ.τ.λ.: for a possible reading of the doubtful letters, see textual note. No official of this name, whatever his function may have been, is known from elsewhere.

αἰρέσεως: we can propose no satisfactory interpretation of the word here.

4 μ[ε]τὰ [τῆ]ν ἀνάγκων: cf. SB 7696 (first published by Skeat and Wegener, *JEA* xxi, pp. 224 seqq.) *passim*; and especially their note on p. 225; also P. Rend. Harris 160, 13.

ὁ λογοθ(έτης?) *WB* cites a number of texts from the second century in which a functionary so named is mentioned: BGU 77; 245; 969; Mitt. *Chr.* ii 87 = P. Lond. 196, corrected by Grenfell, *CR* xii, p. 435; *Chr.* ii 88 = P. Cattaoui (*Archiv* iii, pp. 55 seqq.); to which must be added SB 7516 and 7558 (the latter first published by Boak in *JEA* xviii, pp. 69 seqq.). A mention of the word from the fifth century, in P. Strassb. 35, is uninformative. The function of the λογοθέτης, 'auditor' or 'scrutineer', who appears as a person of some standing specially appointed in cases demanding financial investigation, is discussed by Meyer in *Archiv* iii, pp. 100 seqq.

6 Φλαουίου Μαγνιλιανοῦ: evidently the same as Magninianus 'the Cappadocian' mentioned in St. Athanasius, *Epistulae Heortasticae* ann. 330; *Kephalaia* ann. 330 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxvi, cols. 1352, 1366); see Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets d'Égypte de 284 à 395*, p. 14. Since these texts of Athanasius are extant only in Syriac, from which the name Magninianus is transliterated, the spelling of it here is probably to be preferred.

8 αὐτοῦ: as Youtie remarks, the pronoun looks odd here, but the reading is certain.

11 ἐμφορῆς: = ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦς; see LSJ, s.v. *ἐαυτοῦ* (ii).

12 ἐμφέρεται: of entering in records, cf. 2235 21 seq.

## 2563. PETITION TO EPISTRATEGUS

7·2 × 27·3 cm.

c. A.D. 170

Sarapion, intendant of the priestly tribes in Oxyrhynchus, has a story of violence and theft, which he here presents for the third time. His narrative is written on damaged papyrus in a notably cramped and ugly hand; at the end it degenerates into asyndetic notes. What we have, therefore, is probably just a draft.

Ακυλίῳ Καπιτωλείῳ  
 τῷ κρατίστῳ ἐπιστρ(ατήγῳ)  
 παρὰ Σαραπίωνος Ἱε-  
 ρακος ἀπ' Ὁξυρύνχων  
 5 πόλεως ἐπιμελητοῦ  
 Σαραπίου φυλῶν καὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων ἱερῶν {καὶ} τῆς  
 πόλεως ἐνέτυχόν  
 10 σοι, κύριε, διὰ βιβλιδίου  
 ἐξιοδόντός σου καὶ ὑπέ-  
 σχου ὥστε ἀνάπεμψαι  
 τὰ βιβλίδια καὶ μέχρι τοῦ-  
 του οὐκ ἀνεδόθη μοι  
 περὶ τε ὕβρεως ἢ.  
 15 μοι ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Πλουτί-  
 ωνος Διονυσοδώρου καὶ  
 τοῦ γαμβροῦ αὐτοῦ. ἐνέτυ-  
 χον δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖδη  
 βασιλικῷ γραμματεῖ δια-  
 20 δεχομένῳ καὶ τὰ κατὰ  
 τὴν στρατηγίαν, καὶ ἀ-  
 νήγκασεν ἐνὶ τῶν πε-  
 ρὶ αὐτῶν ὑπηρετῶν  
 Θράσυλλον ἐφιδεῖν τὴν  
 25 περὶ ἐμὲ διάθεσιν περὶ  
 τῆς γεγενημένης μοι  
 ὕβρεως, καὶ προσφώνη-  
 σαι ἰατροῦ ἐπηκολούθη-

## 2563. PETITION TO EPISTRATEGUS

30 *cen* περὶ ὧν εἶχον τότε  
 τραυμάτων. οὐ μόνον  
 ἐμὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν υἱόν  
 μου καὶ τὴν τροφὸν αὐ-  
 τοῦ Ἡρᾶν ἠκίκατο αὐ-  
 τοὺς πληγαῖς ἐν...[...]  
 35 κληρονομίας ν...[ἐν-]  
 δομενείας ἥς κατέλει-  
 ψεν τῇ Ἡρᾶτι ὁ ἀδελφός  
 αὐτῆς Σαραπίων μετὰ  
 40 τελευταίην αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔδη-  
 μοσιώθη διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιδικα-  
 στοῦ τὸ γράμμα ὥστε αὐ-  
 τὴν εἶναι κληρονόμον.  
 οὕτως οὖν αὐθάδως χρη-  
 σάμενος κωμῆτης ἄν  
 45 ἐπήλθεν ἡμεῖν. ἐπὶ σὲ  
 κατέφυγον τὸν πάντων  
 σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην  
 ἀκούσαι μου πρὸς αὐτόν.  
 οὐδεμία βία γίνεταί  
 50 ἐν τοῖς εὐτυχεστάτοις  
 τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐρηλίου  
 Ἀ[ντωνεῖνο]υ καίσαρος τοῦ  
 [...]. ἢ ἐπιστρα  
 [...]. γμεν  
 55 [...]. ἡμα

2 *επιστρῶ* 3 *ἱε-* 7 *ἱερῶν* 14 Perhaps ἢ ἐ-μοί 24 *l. ἐπ-* 28 *ἰατροῦ* 31 *υἱόν*  
 34 Perhaps ἐνεκα (the tail of a extended to fill the line) 35 Perhaps ὑπέβη [ἐν-] 49 *l. γίνεται*

To Aquilius Capitolinus the most excellent epistrategus, from Sarapion son of Hierax, from Oxyrhynchus, intendant of the tribes of the Serapeum and of the other temples of the city. I appealed to you, lord, by petition requesting you—and you promised to send the petition up, and so far it has not been returned to me—about the outrage which was done me by Ploution son of Dionysodorus and his son-in-law. I also appealed to Heraclides the royal scribe, who was also acting strategus, and he had one of the aides on his staff, Thrasylus, look over my condition in respect of the outrage done me, and there followed a declaration by the doctor about the wounds I had then—it was not only me but also my son and his nurse Heras, he maltreated them with blows because of a legacy, on account of the furniture which Heras' brother Sarapion left her after his death, and the

document was registered through the archidikastes so that she inherited. This then was the arrogant treatment with which this villager attacked us. I have sought shelter with you, the saviour and benefactor of all, to hear my case against him. Let no violence occur in the so happy days of our lord Aurelius Antoninus Caesar . . . .<sup>1</sup>

1 *Ἀκυλίω Καπιτωλέϊω*: two Berlin petitions are addressed to the same epistrategus: *W. Chr.* 364 A[. . .] *Ἀκυλίω Καπιτωλέϊω*; *M. Chr.* 121 *Ἰούλιω Καπιτωλέϊω*. (Martin wrongly restored *Αἰμυλίω* in both places: *Les Epistraléges* 183.) *M. Chr.* 121 can be dated between Nov. 169 and Nov. 170; *W. Chr.* 364 belongs to the same period: see Martin l.c., note 1, and (on the royal scribe Serenus) Henne, *Liste des Stratéges* 68.

5-8 I have found no parallel for this title. Epimeletai were usually appointed to a single temple: for the property of Jupiter Capitolinus at Arsinoe (*W. Chr.* 96: A.D. 215), for the Hermeion of Memphis (P. Thead. 34, 14: A.D. 324), for an unidentified temple at Arsinoe (P. Strassb. 72, 1-2: 3rd cent. A.D.). Cf., for the cult of Ptolemy Soter at Coptos, P. Fouad Inv. 211 i 21-22 (*BIFAO* 41, 47). Our text makes it clear that such offices existed in the metropoleis even before the municipal reforms of Septimius Severus: contrast Oertel, *Die Liturgie* 284; *W. Chr.* p. 125.

7-8 (καὶ) τῆς πόλεως: it seems unlikely that Sarapion was also ἐπιμελητῆς τῆς πόλεως, and the title itself has little to commend it: cf. P. Lips. 58, 11 (A.D. 371) ἐπιμελητῆς Πανός (πόλεως?); *SPP* xx 243, 11-12 (7th cent.). I have followed Youtie in deleting καὶ.

10 ἐξιοῦνός σου: understand ἐξιοῦνός τε rather than ἐξιοῦνός (or ἐξιοῦνός) σου.

18-19 This scribe is not in the lists of Henne and Mussies (*P. Lugd. Bat.* xiv).

21-22 ἀνήγκασεν εἶναι: the Koine commonly uses ἀνογκάζειν in weakened senses (Bauer, *NT Wb* s.v.). Here it has the construction, as well as the sense, of ἐπιστρέλλειν (BGU 614, 4); the usual accusative reasserts itself with Θράκυλλον.

23 The aide served as official witness at the medical examination: *JJP* xi-xii (1957-8) 163.

27-28 προσφώνησις ἰατροῦ: see P. Oslo iii 95 and P. Merton ii 89, introductions; *JJP* vi (1952), pp. 263 seq.; *Symb. Taubenschlag* i 182 seqq.

39 seqq. On this function of the archidikastes, see Koschaker, 'Sav. Zt.', *RA* xxix (1908), p. 2.

44 The contrast of κομῆτης and πόλιτης occurs in the 2nd-cent. tax list PSI 819, 8-10, but it is not common until the 4th cent. See Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>2</sup> 594, note.

48 ἀκούσαι: ἀξιών (as, e.g., at P. Mich. vi 422, 32 seqq.) is to be understood or inserted. Alternatively, we could write ἀκουσαι, i.e. ἀκουσε, an aorist imperative (Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen* 28 seqq.). Or is the form too vulgar for this writer?

53 ], η: the trace suggests ]ε; ]τ (τῆ) and ]θ (ἐθ[ό]θη, cf. 2342, 40) are excluded. [κυρίου καιροί]ε fits the space: cf. P. Mich. iii 174, 20 seqq. . . . ἐν τοῖς ἐντυχιστάτοις τοῦ μεγίστου αυτοκράτορος καιροῖς καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπαφρο[β]έλει σου ἡγεμονία ἀπεπράεστος ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαζῆν καὶ ὄβησθημένος. διευτῆχει. Certainly, the writer might not have noticed the repetition of κυρίου (cf. 51); but ἡ ἐπιστρα[τ]ηγ- remains awkward.

## 2564. NOTIFICATION OF DEATH

7.2 × 12 cm.

A.D. 154

A document of a type well represented in the papyri; see O. Montevecchi, *Aegyptus* xxvi (1946), pp. 111 seqq., for an analysis of examples.<sup>1</sup> Written in a small cursive hand along the fibres; the verso is blank. (Read with Mr. A. Schachter, to whom the notes are due.)

Θεογένει τῷ καὶ Λαδικηνῶν  
 γραμμα(τεῖ) πόλεως  
 παρὰ Ἀγαθοκλείας τῆς καὶ  
 Ἀπολλωνίας Ἰσχυρίωνος ἀπ' [᾽Ο]-  
 5 ξυρήνων πόλεως μετὰ κυρίου  
 τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἰσχυρίωνος Θέωνος.  
 Σαραπᾶς δοῦλος μου ἀτεχνος  
 ἀναγραφόμενος ἐπ' ἀμφόδου  
 Ἐρμαί[ο]υ ἐτελεύτησεν τῷ  
 10 ἐνεστῶτι μηνὶ Ἰθύρ, διὸ ἀξιώ  
 ἀναγραφῆναι τῷ[ο]ν ἐν τῇ  
 τῶν ὁμοίων τάξει ὡς προσήκει,  
 καὶ ὁμνῶν Ἀυτοκράτορα Καίσαρα  
 Τίτον Αἰλίον Ἀδριανὸν  
 15 Ἄντωνεῖνον Σεβαστὸν Εὐ[εβ]ῆ[η]  
 ἀλη[θ]ῆ εἶναι τὰ προγεγραμμένα.  
 (ἔτους) μὲ Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου  
 Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἄντωνεῖνον  
 Σεβαστοῦ Εὐεβ[ο]ῦς Ἰθύρ κῆ.

<sup>1</sup> To Theogenes, also called Ladikenos, scribe of the city, from Agathoclea, also called Apollonia, daughter of Ischyron, of the city of Oxxyrhynchus, with her guardian, her son Ischyron, son of Theon. My slave Sarapas, who had no trade, and was registered in the quarter of the Hermaeum, died in the present month of Hathyr. Wherefore I request that he be inscribed in the list of such persons, as is proper; and I swear by the Emperor Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius that the foregoing statements are true.' (Date.)

1 Λαδικηνῶν (sc. Λα(ο)δ.) not found elsewhere as a proper name; as adj., see Pape, *Gr. Eigen-namen*, p. 771; PSI 1255 (3rd cent., from Oxxyrhynchus) has Λαδικεῖς (l. 8); Λαοδικ[εως] (l. 19); Λαοδικε (l. 21).

3 Ἀγαθοκλείας: a rare name in the documents; P. Tebt. 815<sup>10</sup>, 8; SB 6289, 3 (both 3rd cent. B.C.); 964 (3rd cent. A.D.).

7 δοῦλος μου ἀτεχνος: cf. 1030 7 seq. (A.D. 212).

8 seq. ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Ἐρμαί[ο]υ: cf. Rink, *Strassen- und Viertelnamen von Oxxyrhynchus*, pp. 10 seq.; 1283 7.

11 seq. ἐν τῇ τῶν ὁμοίων τάξει: see Mertens, *op. cit.* in footnote, p. 74.

<sup>1</sup> See P. Mertens, *Les Services de l'État civile à Oxxyrhynchus*, pp. 67-77.

## 2565. DECLARATIONS OF BIRTH IN LATIN

Plate I

16 × 12 cm.

A.D. 224

This item is composed of two documents stuck together side by side, the right edge of the larger overlapping the left edge of the smaller. The second seems to have been less tall than the first because its top edge finishes more than a centimetre below the top of the other. Both are broken at the foot and on the side opposite the join.

The first document records a *professio* made by a Roman citizen before the prefect of Egypt in Alexandria declaring the birth of his son. Its form is paralleled by 894 and a tablet published by Guéraud in *Ét. Pap.* vi (1940), pp. 21–35. These two contain below the Latin a declaration to the same effect in Greek—ἀπογράφουμαι υἱόν μου γεγενῆσθαι (combined text)—and the tablet also has the copy of a subscription which was evidently made on the original submitted to be filed in the prefect's archives. Guéraud suggested (l.c. pp. 32 seq.) that his text was the father's certificate of having made his declaration.

The adjoining document seems—though I have not deciphered it fully—to be one of the same type, recording a *professio* made in the same consulship for the birth of a daughter. Because nearly three years elapsed between the birth and the registration in the first document, it is possible that the daughter was of the same family, but the time of the year seems to have been different (*v. nn.*, ll. 14–15) and the writing certainly is, so that it is more likely that this piece is part of a roll of declarations made up in some government office than that it is, for example, a private collection of certificates for children of the same family or part of a lawyer's file. The copies filed in Alexandria have no business to be in Oxyrhynchus, so that these should be from a local government office. It is possible that they have some relationship with the ἰπομνήματα ἐπιγενήσεως submitted for tax purposes to the city officials (Mertens, *Services de l'état civil . . . à Oxyrhynchus* 48 seqq.).

The first document is incidentally of interest because it is the first to refer to the prefect M. Aurelius Epagathus and gives a firm date for him which differs by several years from the conjectural one given in the lists of prefects. This is important evidence for the date of the death of Ulpian. Epagathus was the chief instigator of the murder of Ulpian and was so powerful in Rome that he could not be punished there. He was removed to Egypt by his appointment as prefect and from there was taken to Crete to be executed (Dio lxxx 2, 2–4). It follows that Ulpian was murdered before the date of this declaration (May/June 224). This justifies Howe's preference for *c.* A.D. 223 as the date of the murder (*The Pretorian Prefect* 100–5), dismisses the traditional date of *c.* A.D. 228, wrongly based on Dio, and rebuts Reinmuth's arguments against Howe (*AJP* lxxv (1944), pp. 197 seqq.). It is now reasonable to suppose that Epagathus was the prefect whose work was taken over by the *uiridicus* Tiberius Claudius Herennianus, see P. Harr. 68, Stein, *Die Praefekten* 128 seq. P. Harr. 68 is dated 12 January, A.D. 225, from which it seems likely that the petition recited inside the document was

delivered to Herennianus in A.D. 224. Quite probably Herennianus' name is to be supplied in the second declaration here (Tiberi[ l. 15]), which is also dated A.D. 224 (l. 1).

(a)

Iuli[an[o] e[ t] Crispino co(n)s(ulibus)  
 an]n[o] I]I Imp(eratoris) Caesaris Marci Aureli  
 Seve]ri Alexandr]i Pii Felicis Aug(usti)  
 men]se Pauni die ..  
 5 Alex]a[ndr]i(iae) ad Aeg(yptum)  
 apud] M. Aurelium Epagathum pr(a)ef(ectum) Aeg(ypti)  
 M. Au]relius Mar[us] q(ui) e(t) Serenus  
 . . . p]roffessus est sibi filium na-  
 tum es]se M. Aurelium Sarapionem  
 10 . . . . .]! . . . . .m . . . . . καὶ ὡς χ(ρηματ(ζ)ει)  
 . . . . .] sua pri(die) Id(us) Aug(ustas) q(uae) f(uerunt)  
 Grato] e[t] Σελευϋο co(n)s(ulibus)

(b)

(2nd hd.) Iulian[  
 . . . . .]  
 15 Tiberi[  
 fort . . . . .]  
 filiam . . . . .]  
 Theo[  
 Iunias q[(uae) f(uerunt)

<sup>1</sup>In the consulship of Iulianus and Crispinus, the third year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander, Pious, Happy, August, in the month of Payni, the . . . th day, at Alexandria near Egypt, before M. Aurelius Epagathus, prefect of Egypt, M. Aurelius Marus, also called Serenus, . . . declared that there was born to him a son, M. Aurelius Sarapion, by . . ., his wife (?), on the day before the Ides of August which fell in the consulship of Gratus and Seleucus.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 224, cf. II–12 n.

<sup>4</sup> The number of digits after *die* is uncertain. The second trace may be a stop.

<sup>6</sup> *prefaeg* pap.

<sup>7</sup> *Marsus* looks best; *Marius* does not seem to be right, comparing *-ri-* in Crispino (1) and Caesaris (2), but what I take as the cap of 's' might possibly be an extension of the 'r'.

<sup>q(ui) e(t):</sup> cf., e.g., 1114, 8 n. *q e* abbreviated by dots above the letters, cf. *q(uae) f(uerunt)*, l. 11. Some of the other abbreviations have a high or middle stop and some have nothing to draw attention to them.

<sup>8</sup> There is space for about four letters unaccounted for in the gap. Nothing essential to the sense is missing. Perhaps there was a description, such as *c.r.* = *c(ivis) R(omanus)*. There is nothing in Guéraud's tablet. 894 is damaged at this point.

<sup>10</sup> The name of the mother is expected here; e.g. *ex Aure]l]ia[.]*, etc., would be possible. The Greek at the end of the line is unexpected and difficult, but there is a parallel for this expression in the middle of a Latin document, i.e. P. Michaelidae 61, 6 (= CPLat. 164). If the reading is right the *c* of *ὡς* is absorbed in a 'Verschleifung' or there is an abbreviation.

<sup>11</sup> Presumably *uxore*] *sua*. *Ét. Pap.* vi has *uxore* in this position but not *sua*; 894 is damaged at this point. Schulz thought that the innovation of Marcus Aurelius referred to in *SHA Vita Marci* 9, 7

consisted in requiring a *professio* to be made for illegitimate as well as legitimate children (*JRS* xxxii (1942), pp. 81 seqq.).

11–12 12 Aug., A.D. 221. As in Guéraud's tablet the statutory maximum of thirty days between birth and registration, supposed to have been established by Marcus Aurelius (*SHA* l.c.), is greatly exceeded. If it ever held for the provinces it must have been widely disregarded after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. P. Tebt. 285 might perhaps be taken to suggest that it was not too rare then for the whole procedure of the *professio* to be neglected.

q f : cf. n. l. 7.

12 The papyrus is damaged after *cos.* but there do not seem to be any traces of the parents' domicile as given in 894. It may, of course, have followed on the next line; ll. 4 and 5 are also unusually short.

13 *Iu[li]am[us]*: the letters are all damaged but there is no doubt that they are the expected ones, cf. l. 1. From this, and from *filiam* (17) and *Iunias* (19), which I take to correspond to *filium* (8) and *Augustas* (11), I suppose that (b) is a declaration just like (a), but the intermediate stages, which should be easy, are hard to recognize; see notes to ll. 14 and 16.

14 *a. . .* : before *a* there is the foot of an upright; after *a, p* or *c*, followed, perhaps not immediately, by a tall letter and the foot of an upright. Not *apud* because of the preceding upright and cf. 15 n. The only variable part of the formula should be the name of the Egyptian month, in which case *menese Cho[is]iac[us] q[ui]e. . .* is the only possibility that occurs to me, but the division of the diphthong in *Chois* is unlikely. It seems that the introductory formula (as far as *apud*, cf. n. l. 15), which took more than five lines in (a) was completed within two lines in (b). Probably it was more drastically abbreviated but the correspondences already noted (l. 13 n.) seem to show that the lines of (b) were longer than those of (a) and the same is suggested by its lesser height (introd. para. 1).

15 *Tiberi[us]*: probably *apud* *Tiberium Claudium Herennianum praefectum Aegypti*, see introd. The Latin for *δέσπotes* (καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν (P. Harr. 68) appears to be simply *praefectus Aegypti*, v. 1201, 1 and 14. There is a possibility that this is the father's name but that should be much closer to *filiam* (17).

16 *forti. . .* : *Fortis* is known as a name (P. Mich. vii 447 i 9), but though *i* would be possible a following *s* would not.

17 *filiam. . .* : the traces suggest *ἱ[bi]* rather than *ἡ[tam]* and 894, 5 has the order *filium sibi natum*.

## 2566. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF DEBT TO AN ESCHEATED ESTATE

53 × 26 cm.

13 June, A.D. 225(?)

This papyrus contains in separate columns copies of two reports made to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome by Aurelia Apollonarian, daughter of Zoilus. She declares that she owes—together with an associate in the second case—certain amounts of wheat to the account of Claudia Isidora, also called Apia, whose goods have escheated to the treasury. Apia is rather well known from the papyri (v. n. to i 6).

The situation is new and the reason for the submission of the report is not stated. It may be that it was required by law (v. n. to i 6), but I cannot discover that it was, and it may be easier to suppose that Apollonarian made it on her own initiative because she thought it to her advantage. Perhaps she was taking steps to pay the debts before she became liable to the penalties for late payment—the date of the reports is Payni 19 and payment was due in Epeiph. The treasury officials would find a copy of the chirographs among Apia's papers (*δικκόν* i 8), but no doubt there might be delays before they claimed payment.

## 2566. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF DEBT TO AN ESCHEATED ESTATE 105

It is not clear why Apia's property escheated to the treasury. *παρὰ τῷ ταμείῳ γενέσθαι*—'to come under the control of the treasury'—though I cannot find it elsewhere, seems to be a colourless phrase neither indicating the reason nor distinguishing the departments of the treasury. A letter of a high Roman official announcing the fate of Apia's property is mentioned, but Papirius Sabinus, *vir egregius*, is not known to me from elsewhere and his office is not stated.

The idilogus received confiscated property for several reasons, as is known from the Gnomon (e.g. paras. 4, 16, 19, 25, 26, 67).

If Apia was a debtor to the treasury, Sabinus may have been epistrategus of the Heptanomia (Martin, *Les Epistratèges* pp. 156/7), or the dioecetes (BGU 8 ii 28 seqq.), or the idilogus (see above), or his subordinate the *procurator usiacus*.

If her goods were confiscated for a criminal offence, he might have been the *iuridicus*.

All the officials mentioned bear the title *κράτιςτος* (Hornickel, *Ehven- und Rangprädikate*, pp. 19–22) about this date. The last known application of it to the prefect is in a document dated A.D. 190 (*ibid.*, p. 21, n. 7).

P. Oxford Wegener 5A mentions a Sabinus who may have been epistrategus of the Heptanomia in the early third century (*ibid.*, ll. 2–3 n.), but that document may well be some years earlier than the present one. I do not know whether, if Papirius Sabinus was the epistrategus, we should conclude that Apia was a debtor to the treasury. If she died intestate and without lawful heirs—a less dramatic supposition—her property would have gone to the  *fiscus* (v. Gnomon, para. 4), and we do not know enough to say that the epistrategus could not have entered the case.

It is clear from the subscriptions, written in the same hand as the rest, that the documents are copies. The handwriting and the format are good enough to have come from the strategus's office.

Col. i

Αὐρηλίω c. 9 letters cτρ(ατηγῶ) Ὁξυρηνχίτω  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Ἀπολλων[αρίου] Ζωίλου γυμνασι[αρχή]αντος τῆς Ὁξυρην-  
 χιτῶν πόλ(εως)  
 μητρὸς .....[.....]χ[ωρ]ίς κ[υ]ρίω[ν] χ[ρ]η[μα]τιζούσης  
 κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων [ἔθ]η [τ]έξε[ι]ων δικαίω διὰ Αὐρηλίω[ν] Ὁρίωνος γραμ-  
 ματέως·  
 5 ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς Παπειρίου Καβείνου τοῦ κρατίστου σήμερόν σοι ἐνταῦ-  
 θα ἀναδοθείσης μαθ[ῆ]σαι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα Κλαυδίας Ἰσιδώρας τῆς κ[αί]  
 Ἀπίας παρὰ τῶ τ[α]μί[ει]ω γεγονέναι ἀπογράφομαι δηλοῦσα ἐμωτη[ῖ]ν  
 ὀφείλειν τῶ τῆς Ἰσιδώρας λόγῳ κατὰ χειρόγραφον [[δικεσσῶν]] ἐπὶ τῶ  
 ἐνεστῶτος ἔτο[υ]ς [[Μεχ[είρ]]] Φαμ[ενώθ]· πυροῦ ἀρτάβας χ' μέτρῳ γνώ-  
 10 μονος τῆς οὐσίας ἃς ἔ[χ]ν ἐπὶ τῶ ἀποδοῦναι τὰς ἴσας χ'' ἀπὸ καρπῶν τοῦ  
 ἄ[υ]του) ἐνεστ[ῶ]τος)  
 ἔτους τῶ Ἐπειφ[ῶ] μηνί κ[αί] ἀξιώ ταύτην μου τὴν ἀπογραφὴν φα-  
 νεράν γενέ[σ]θ[αι] οἷς προσήκει· (ἔτους) δ' Παῦνι ιθ'  
 Αὐρηλ(ία) Ἀπολλων[αρίου] Ζωίλ(ου) δι' ἐμοῦ Αὐρηλ(ίου) Ὁρίωνος γραμ-  
 ματ[έ]ως·

Col. ii

Αὐρηλίω Αι. [... ]λω cτρ(ατηγῶ) Ὁξυρην[η]χ[ε]ίτ[ω]  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλ[ί]ας Ἀπολλων[αρίου] θυγατρὸς Ζωίλ[ω]  
 γυμνα(σιάρχ[αν]τος) τῆς Ὁξυρην[η]χ[ε]ίτ[ω]ν π[ό]λ(εως) [χ]ωρ[ί]ς κυρίων χρημ[α]τι-  
 ζούσης κατὰ  
 τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθ[η] [τ]έκνων δικαίω μετὰ συνε[σ]τ[ῶ]-  
 5 τος Αὐρηλ(ίου) Διογέ[ν]ου[ς] Σαραπάμων[ος] ἐξηγητεῦσαν[τος] βουλ(ευτοῦ)  
 τῆς α(ὐτῆς) π[ό]λ(εως) δι' Αὐρηλ(ίου) Ὁρίωνος γραμματέως τῆς Ἀπολλων[αρίου]  
 ἐξ ἐπιστ[ο]λῆς Παπειρίου Καβείνου τοῦ κρατίστου  
 σήμερόν σοι ἐνταῦθα ἀναδοθε[ί]της μαθόντες τὰ ὑπάρ-  
 χοντα Κλαυδίας Ἰσιδώρας τῆς καὶ Ἀπ[ί]ας παρὰ τῶ ταμί[ει]ω  
 10 γεγενῆαι ἀπογράφομεθα δηλοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ὀφείλειν  
 τῶ τῆς Ἰσιδώρας λόγῳ κατὰ χειρόγραφον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος  
 ἔτους Φαμενώθ ιβ' πυροῦ ἀρτάβας τ' μέτρῳ γνώμονος  
 τῆς οὐσίας ἃς ἔσχον ἐπὶ τῶ ἀπο[δ]οῦναι ἀπὸ καρπῶν τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ)  
 ἐνεστ[ῶ]τος ἔτους τῶ Ἐπειφ[ῶ] μηνί τὰς τοῦ κεφαλ[α]ίου  
 15 ἀρτάβας τριακοσίας καὶ ὑπὲρ διαφόρου ἕκ τετάρτου ἀρτάβας  
 ἐ[β]δομήκοντα πέντε· καὶ ἀξιοῦμ[ε]ν ταύτην ἡμῶν τὴν  
 ἀπογραφὴν φ[ω]ν[ε]ρῶν [γ]ενέσθαι οἷς προσήκει· (ἔτους) δ' Παῦνι ιθ'  
 Αὐρηλ(ία) [Ἀ]πολλων[αρίου] Ζωίλ(ου) καὶ Αὐρηλ(ιος) Διογέ[ν]ης Σαραπά-  
 μωνος  
 20 δι' ἐμοῦ Αὐρηλ(ίου) Ὁρίωνος γραμματέως α[ὐ]τῆς Ἀπολλων[αρίου]  
 ἐπιδεδώκ[α]μεν·

3 γυμῶ 5 τος : c corrected from τ?

Col. i 'To Aurelius . . . , strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelia Apolloniarion, daughter of Zoilus, ex-gymnasiarch of the city of Oxyrhynchus, and of her mother . . . acting without a guardian in accordance with Roman custom by right of children, through Aurelius Horion, secretary. Having learnt from a letter of the most excellent Papirius Sabinus, delivered to you here today, that the property of Claudia Isidora also called Apia has escheated to the treasury, I write this report to declare that I myself owe to Isidora's account, in accordance with a chirograph dated in the current year on . . . Phamenoth, 600 artabae of wheat by a measure in accordance with the regulations of the estate, which I had on condition of returning the same number, 600, from the produce of the same current year in the month of Epeiph. And I request that this report of mine be communicated to those concerned. Fourth year, Payni 19th. Aurelia Apolloniarion, daughter of Zoilus, through me, Aurelius Horion, secretary.'

Col. ii 'To Aurelius A . . . , strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelia Apolloniarion, daughter of Zoilus, ex-gymnasiarch of the city of Oxyrhynchus, acting without a guardian in accordance with Roman custom by right of children, with her associate Aurelius Diogenes, son of Sarapammon, ex-exegetes, senator of the same city, through Aurelius Horion, secretary of Apolloniarion. Having learnt from a letter of the most excellent Papirius Sabinus, delivered to you here today, that



the property of Claudia Isidora also called Apia has escheated to the treasury, we write this report to declare that we ourselves owe to Isidora's account, in accordance with a chirograph dated in the current year on 12th Phamenoth, 300 artabae of wheat by a measure in accordance with the regulations of the estate, which I had on condition of returning from the produce of the same current year in the month of Epeiph the 300 artabae of the principal and 75 artabae by way of interest of a fourth. And we request that this report of ours be communicated to those concerned. Fourth year, Payni 19th. We, Aurelia Apolloniarion, daughter of Zoilus, and Aurelius Diogenes, son of Sarapammon, through me, Aurelius Horion, secretary of the same Apolloniarion, submitted the report.<sup>1</sup>

i 2 *Αύρηλιος Απολλωνί*[ : these broken letters can scarcely be read but are rather supplied from 14 and ii 2. In the next line an equal number of broken letters can be seen but in the absence of a parallel I cannot read them.

4 *Αύρηλιος Ἐρίων*: cf. perhaps 61 4 (A.D. 221) and 2137 5 (226).

6 *ἀναδοθείσης*: what actually happened is not clear. Assuming that the addressee was the strategus, Apolloniarion may have known the contents of the letter because it was publicly displayed, or because she caused it to be written by some action of her own and received a copy, or for some other reason. And since *ἀναδοθέναι* does not necessarily mean 'deliver' a letter to the addressee (cf., e.g., 1104 8 seqq.), it could have been a letter to Apolloniarion which she had herself 'sent up' to the strategus earlier. And no doubt there are other possibilities. The simplest hypothesis may be that the letter was written to the strategus to be publicly displayed so that debtors to the estate might make precisely the kind of report that these documents are. But see introd., para. 2.

*Κλαυδία Ἰαδώρα*: see 919, 1046, 1530, 1578 (corr. *Ox. Pap.* xiv, p. 14), 1630, 1634, 1659, P. Oslo 111 ll. 126, 129, Rostowzew, *Soc. and Econ. Hist. of the Roman Empire*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 490, 674 n. 48, 747 n. 61, MacLennan, *Oxyrhynchus*, pp. 40-42.

7 *παρὰ τῷ ταμείῳ γεγονέναι*: the nearest parallel I can find is BGU 15 ii 16 τῷ τ. μὴ παραγινέσθαι, where it is a question of collected taxes not finding their way to the treasury.

9 [ . ]: space for one or two letters, possibly β<sup>3</sup> as in ii 12.

*γνώμονος*: the estate 'code' suggests that Apia's land was leased from the emperor, cf. Rostowzew, *op. cit.* p. 747, n. 61. *μέτρον τῆς οὐσίας* is known, v. A. Calderini, *Studi della Scuola Papirologica* iv, part 3, p. 111 cf. 112 seq., and add P. Vind. Sijpestein 9, 15 seqq., cf. *ibid.* 13, 10 seqq. and the same thing seems to have been intended in P. Ross.-Georg. iii 5, 6 *πυροδ μέτρον γνώμονι ἀρτάβακ ἑκατόν*, etc.

10 ε[ ]χ. ν: the missing letter should be ο, but the surviving trace is a long descender, presumably accidental.

12 *ένεστ*( ): the last letter is damaged and there is a gap, but it is too small to contain -ῶτος. It looks as if τ was written very large to indicate the abbreviation.

14 Apolloniarion's subscription should be followed by *ἐπιδεδωκα* (cf. ii 20) but it has been accidentally omitted.

ii 1 This strategus does not seem to have occurred before, but the remains of his name are important for the date. It must be after A.D. 212 because of the Aurelii, and near the other mentions of Apia (v. 16 n.), who is known, so far, from A.D. 215 (919) to A.D. 222 (1634). It cannot be 221 (4 Elagabalus) because another strategus is attested for the period (v. *Chron. d'Égypte* lxii (1956), pp. 354 seqq.). The strategus of 4 Alexander (A.D. 225) is not known and this, as the closest to 222, appears to be the most likely year. The next possible year is 238 (4 Maximinus and Maximus). A strategus for September 238 is known (1433 1) and he is not the one named here, but because this is already in the first year of Gordian and there is a possibility that he was appointed at the beginning of Thoth, 238 cannot be definitely excluded. A.D. 242 is also open, but this is already twenty years later than the last known reference to Apia. The mention in A.D. 235 of houses (*πρότερον*) *Κλαυδίας Ἰαδώρας τῆς καὶ Ἀπίας* (P. Oslo 111, ll. 126, 129) suggests that her property belonged to the state by then and so favours A.D. 226 for this document.

6 *γραμματεῖς τῆς Απολλωνιαρίων*: private secretaries are not common, but cf. the secretary of Alypius P. Flor. 216, 4.

10 *έαντος* = *ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦς* v. Mays<sup>2</sup> i 2, p. 63.

13 *έχων*: 1st sing., subject Apolloniarion, rather than 3rd plural in the objective style, I take it. Diogenes is a guarantor in case of Apolloniarion's failure (Wenger, *Stellvertretung* pp. 103 seq., 179 seq.) but the transaction is in the hands of Apolloniarion only. Or perhaps just a mistake, cf. P. Cair. Isid. 11 9, *δηλώ . . . ἐντάξατες*.

## 2567. REGISTRATION OF DRUGGIST'S STOCK

7.9 × 34.2 cm.

18 May, A.D. 253

The alum monopoly was already attested, for the Fayûm by W. Chr. 321 (A.D. 145) and for Oxyrhynchus by 2116 (A.D. 229) and 1429 (A.D. 300). 2567—an unusual document which has some similarities with 520—now adds considerably to our information.

The monopoly, in the third century, embraced both alum and other useful minerals (2567 16 seqq.). Control rested with the government in Alexandria, which leased the industry to three *misthotai* (2567, cf. 1429) and appointed three *epiteretai* (2116) to supervise their administration. The *misthotai*, through their nome-managers (2567 34 seqq.), sold alum to the local retailers (who in turn must have supplied the alum-peddlars: Wallace, *Taxation* 211). The *epiteretai* made up the accounts for the whole industry every five days, and submitted them in sextuplicate to the Alexandrian ministries. The *dioikesis*, the *oikonomoi*, and the *procurator ad Mercurium* all received copies; and the same *procurator* had the power to order a general stocktaking by the retailers when a new set of *misthotai* took over (2567 7 seqq.).

Before the third century we have only one piece of evidence: W. Chr. 321. Here the situation may well have been different: the mention of *ἐπιτη(ρηταί) εἰς(τη)ρίαις* Ἀρσι( ) suggests, though it does not prove, that the monopoly was then administered separately in each nome.

- Ἀρηλίους Ἀρουντίου Ἡρακλειαγῶ  
 καὶ Ἰέρακι τῶ καὶ Δημητρίῳ καὶ Θέω-  
 νι μισθωταῖς μονοπωλίου ἀσχολή-  
 ματος στυπτηρίας  
 5 παρὰ Ἀρηλίῳ Νεοπολέμου Διοσκο-  
 ρου ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως φαρμα-  
 κοπάλου. κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα  
 ὑπὸ Αἰλίου Καβείνου τοῦ κρατίστου  
 ἐπιτρόπου Ἐρμού ἀπογράφομαι  
 10 ἐνπροθέσμως ἃ παρέλαβα παρὰ  
 τῶν προγενομένων μισθωτῶν  
 τοῦ ἀσχολήματος τὰ ὑπογεγραμ-  
 μένα εἶδη· στυπτηρίας μὲν  
 Ψωβτιακῆς ὀλκῆς (ταλ.) βλ<sup>-</sup>  
 15 χριστῆς δὲ ὀλκῆς μῶα λ<sup>-</sup>  
 μελαντηρίας τάλαντα ιβ<sup>-</sup>  
 μίλτου τάλαντα ζ<sup>-</sup>  
 μισυδίων ἄρτους ιν<sup>-</sup>  
 20 .]. πορφύρου τάλαντα ε<sup>-</sup>  
 ψυχρας ὀασειτικῆς (ταλ.) γ  
 ἀλκυκῆς τάλαντα ε<sup>-</sup>  
 .]. ληρας τάλαντα ε<sup>-</sup>  
 .]. λίματος μέτρα β<sup>-</sup>  
 ὧν πάντων τὴν τιμὴν  
 25 πλήρη μετεβαλόμην κατὰ τὸ  
 ἕξθος ἀκολούθως οἷς ἔχω  
 συμβόλοις (ἔτους) γ''  
 αὐτοκρατόρων καισάρων Γαίου  
 Οὐιβίου Τρεβωνιανοῦ Γάλλου  
 30 καὶ Γαίου Οὐιβίου Ἀφινίου Γάλλου  
 Οὐέ]λδομμιανοῦ Οὐόλουσιαν[ο]ῦ  
 εὐ]εβάν εὐτυχῶν σεβαστῶν  
 Πα]χῶν κγ.  
 (2nd hd.) Ἀρη]λίος Ἀμμώνιος πραγμα-  
 35 τευ]τῆς Ὁξυρυγχείτου ἔσχου  
 τοῦ]του τὸ ἔρον.

8 ὕπο 12 ὑπογεγραμ- 14 ψωβ'τιακῆς 17 μίλ'του 19 .].] unsatisfactory: second.  
 trace not completely suited to either i or ρ 28, 30 γαίου 35 ὀξυρυγ'χείτου

'To Aurelius Arruntius Heraclianus, and Aurelius Hierax also called Demetrius, and Aurelius Theon, lessees of the monopoly of the alum industry: from Aurelius Neoptolemus son of Dioscorus, of the city of Oxyrhynchus, druggist. In accordance with the orders of Aelius Sabinus the most excellent *procurator ad Mercurium*, I make a punctual return of the items which I received from the previous lessees of the industry, as listed below:

'Alum from Psobthis, 2½ tal. weight; and split alum, 30 minae weight. *Melanteria*, 12 tal. *Miltos*, 7 tal. *Misy*, 450 loaves. . . ., 5 tal. Ochre from the oasis, 3 tal. Salt, 5 tal. . . ., 5 tal. . . ., 2 measures. I have remitted the price of all these, in full, as customary in accordance with the receipts which I hold. Year 3 of Imperatores Caesares Gaius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus and Gaius Vibius Afinius Gallus Veldumianus Volusianus Pii Felices Augusti, Pachon 23.

'(2nd hd.) I, Aurelius Ammonius, manager for the Oxyrhynchite nome, have received a duplicate of this.'

8 Αἰλίου Καβείνου: an Aelius Sabinus recorded events of A.D. 238 (*SHA Maximini* 32, 1)—Momm-  
 sen (*Ges. Schr.* vii 333, n. 2) thought him a figment.

9 ἐπιτρόπου Ἐρμού: Ἐρμού now becomes a certain correction of Ἐρμού at 2116 10. The *procurator ad Mercurium* and his department (frumentum Mercuri, Ἐρμού χειρισμός) are well attested. (1) 81/82: P. Gen. Lat. recto ii 5. (2) Domitian: *Ann. Ép.* 1939, no. 60 (Sex. Attius Suburanus). (3) 136: PSI 792. (4) 165: P. Berl. Leihg. 4 verso v 24. (5) After 161: *ILS* 1398 (M. Campanianus Modestus). (6) 201: Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitana (Reynolds and Ward Perkins) 392, 403, 422, 434 (M. Junius Punicus). (7) 229: P. Oxy. 2116. (8) 244: P. Oslo ii 27 with *Archiv* x 84 seq. (. . . Julianus). (9) 253: P. Oxy. 2567 (Aelius Sabinus). The functions of the department remain obscure. Certainly it dealt mostly with grain; certainly it was co-ordinate with the χειρισμός Νέας πόλεως. Wilcken accordingly conjectured that the *procurator ad Mercurium* handled the Alexandrian corn supply, while the *procurator Neas-poleos* handled the annona (*Hermes* lxiii (1928), pp. 60 seq.). The fact that, on one occasion, the same grain was booked to both departments (P. Berl. Leihg. pp. 103 seq.; 361) scarcely weighs against this conjecture. But the new evidence of 2116 and 2567 does alter the picture, at least for the 3rd cent. Why should the *procurator ad Mercurium* interest himself in alum as well as grain? We might guess that he exercised a general supervision over the distribution and sale of monopolized commodities—including traffic in surplus grain (2472, 3, n.). For this view cf. Schwartz, *BSAA* xxxix (1951), P. 30 seqq.

13 seqq. Five items on this list survive un mutilated. All are minerals; and all have their use in medicine, to judge from Dioskorides and from the pharmaceutical papyri (for which see *Gazza, Aeg.* xxxvi (1956), pp. 73 seqq.). Four of them are also pigments, and the fifth (alum) a mordant. But we need not infer that the mutilated items too must have been colouring agents or the like—in deed, ἀλκυκῆ, which belongs only to the medical sphere, seems a probable restoration in l. 21. In what follows I am much indebted to Dr. J. R. Harris for advice and bibliography on matters of geology.

14 Ψωβτιακῆς: 'from Psobthis', i.e. from the capital of the Little Oasis (P. Oxy. 485: other and less eligible Psobthis are listed by Calderini, *Rend. R. Ist. Lomb.* lviii (1925), p. 529). *W. Chr.* 321 proves that alum was brought on camel-back from the Little Oasis to the Fayûm, and in fact all the oases have deposits of alum and ochre (cf. l. 20): see Hume, *Geological Survey* i 209 seq. The various uses of alum are discussed by Weidemann, *Herodots Zweites Buch*, p. 610.

15 χριστῆς: *concreti aluminis unum genus schiston appellat Graeci, in capillamenta quaedam canescentia dehiscens* (Pliny *N.H.* 35, 186): it is often mentioned in recipes (*Gazza* 104) and in chemical texts (P. Holm., index). According to Pfister (*Sem. Kond.* vii (1935), p. 5) 'c'est probablement l'alun qui se trouve tout formé, mais en petite quantité, dans les fissures de certains schistes. . . .' See in general J. R. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* 185 seq.

18 μισυδίων: the diminutive (absent from the *Wörterbuch* and *LSJ*) occurs at Galen 19, 736. *Misy*—some produced in Egypt, though the best came from Cyprus (Diosk. 5, 100)—was important as

1 Ti. Claudius Balbillus served [ad Herm]en Alexandron under Claudius (*Ann. Ép.* 1924, no. 78); but the restoration may be doubted.

a remedy for sore eyes: Youtie therefore interprets *ἀρτους* as 'pellets' (usually *κολλύρια*) rather than 'bricks'.

23 ...]λίματος: ἄλιμα (water plantain) is a medicine (Diosk. 3, 152), though not a mineral. Would it be sold by volume, not by weight?

27 (ἔτους) γ: 252/3 on the normal chronology. For the controversy, arising from numismatic evidence, see *Aeg.* xxxii (1952), p. 152.

36-37 πραγμα[τευ]τής: the nome manager: cf. 825 (an account drawn up for the *μεινωταί ξενικής πρακτορείας* by their *πραγματευτής Μέμφως Μ[ε]μφ[ε]ίτου*); P. Grenf. ii 58, 1 (*πραγ]ματευτής ἐρημο-φυλακίας Προσωπίου*).

## 2568. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT FOR RETURN OF BOAT

6.2 x 23.6 cm.

23 July, A.D. 264

Aurelius Heracles acknowledges the return of a boat which he had provided, under general orders of the prefect, for use in the loading of corn-transport. The receipt is addressed to an irenarch and to an unspecified official. This shows a new aspect of the irenarchs' powers: no doubt requisitioning was part of their police-work.

To judge from the repayment-clauses of loans in kind, the year's harvest was usually threshed and divided by the end of Payni. Accordingly, large shipments of government grain would be under way in Epeiph (cf. Börner, *Staatliche Korntransport* 30 seq.). 2568, dated on Epeiph 29, fits well enough into this scheme.

1197 makes an interesting parallel. Here a dieramatites promises on oath to produce his boat when the transports arrive. His pledge is dated in Mesore of 211. In that year, therefore, the transports had still not arrived by the end of Epeiph. The harvest may have been late, or the Nile slow in rising.

Καλουρνίω Ὁρί-  
ωνι τῷ ἀξιολογω-  
τάτῳ εἰρηνάρχῃ  
καὶ Αὐρήλιω Ἀχιλλεῖ  
5 τῷ καὶ Ἀμμωνίῳ  
τῷ κρατίτῳ

Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλῆς  
Θέωνος μητρὸς  
Τρυφᾶτος ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγ-  
10 χων πόλεως πακτω-

νοποῖος· ὁμολογῶ  
παρεληφέναι παρ'  
ὑμῶν ὃν παρέσχο(ν)  
15 πάκτωνα ἐν κώ-

παις δυεὶ ἰτείναις  
πρὸς διαίρεσιν δη-  
μοσίου πυροῦ ἀκο-  
λοῦθως τοῖς γρα-

φεῖς(ι) ὑπὸ τοῦ λαμ-  
20 προτάτου ἡμῶν  
ἡγεμόνος Κλαυδίου  
Φίρμιου καὶ ἐπερωτη-

θεῖς ὁμολόγησα.  
(2nd hd.) (ἔτους) ια'' αὐτοκράτορος

25 καίσαρος Πουπλίου Λικινίου  
Γαλλινοῦ Γερμανικοῦ

μεγίστου εὐσεβοῦ[ς]  
εὐτυχοῦς [ς]εβαστοῦ

[ε]πίφει κθ. (3rd hd.) Αὐρήλιος

30 Ἡρακλῆς Θεώνος  
παρείληφα τὸν πά-

κτωνα ἐν ταῖς κώ-  
παις καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς  
ὁμολόγησα· Αὐρήλιος

35 Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου  
ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδό-  
τος γράμματα.

4 *Αχιλλεῖ*: the second λ written over an upright (as of Η, etc.) 13 *ἕμων π' ἀ' ρεσχῶ* 15 *ἔτε-*  
*νας* 19 *ἕπο* 23 *ομολογησα*: ω over an erasure. Perhaps *ομολογησε*

<sup>1</sup>To Calpurnius Horion, the most worthy irenarch, and to Aurelius Achilles also called Ammonius, the most eminent: Aurelius Heracles son of Theon, mother Tryphas, from the city of Oxyrhynchus, boat-maker. I acknowledge that I have received from you the boat with its two willow-wood oars, which I provided for the lading of the state corn in accordance with the letters of our most illustrious prefect Claudius Firmus; and in answer to the question I have made acknowledgement. (2nd hd.) Year 11 of Emperor Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus Germanicus Maximus Pius Felix Augustus, Epiph 29.

(3rd hd.) 'I, Aurelius Heracles son of Theon, have received the boat with the oars; and in answer to the question I have made acknowledgement. I, Aurelius Apollonius son of Apollonius, have written for him since he is illiterate.'

1-3 *Καλπουριῶ . . . εἰρηνάρχῃ*: chronological considerations suggest that this was a nome-irenarch. For the Oxyrhynchites we have:

(a) *εἰρηνάρχαι Ὁξυρυγχίτου* 2107 (A.D. 262); *εἰρηνάρχης Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως* 2343 (c. 288); *εἰρηνάρχαι Ὁξ( )* 80 (238/44). To judge from the contexts, the irenarchs in 118 (late iii) and 1662 (246) also belong to this group. 2233 (350) is doubtful: it seems to me more likely (despite the editor) that the *kephalaiotes* and his irenarchs are officials of the village (or possibly of the pagus)—they are subordinate to the *riparii* like the village-irenarchs of P. Amh. 146 and PSI 47 (5th and 6th cent. respectively).

(b) Irenarchs of the toparchy: not attested.

(c) Village-irenarchs appear in 1505-6 (iv), PSI 47 (vi), P. Iand. 25 (vi/vii).

Nome-irenarchs, that is, are not attested after the 3rd cent.; nor village-irenarchs before the 4th. Material from other nomes for the most part confirms these limits.<sup>1</sup> Horion was probably nome-irenarch or (if it was a separate office) irenarch of Oxyrhynchus.

1-3 *Ἀξιολογώτατος Καλπουριῶς* is known from 1764 10 (3rd cent.).

4-6 What office did Achilles hold? His title gives no help, for the *κρατιστεία* was widely distributed at this time (Hornickel, *Ehnen- und Rangprädikate* 21 seq.). It may be worth recalling 1257 13 and 19 ὁ *κράτιστος ἐπίτεκνος δημοσίου εἴσου*—another Ammonius, identified by the editors with the *κράτιστος* *ἄμμ.* of 1412 9 seq. (c. A.D. 284).

14 *πάκτονα*: διὰ *κενταλίδων πεπηγὸς σκάφιον ὄστ'* εὐκέναι *διαπλοκίω* (Strabo 17, 1, 50). It was used for the transport both of goods (1220 12, PSI 948, BGU 812, P. Ross.-Georg. ii 18, 176) and of persons (P. Ryl. 225, 39, P. Cairo Masp. 58). It seems to have been a fragile construction—passengers like Strabo felt doubts of their safety (cf. 2153 22-25)—and was presumably best suited to short trips. For the willow-wood, compare P. Merton 1 19, 4 seqq.

16 *διαρῶων*: cf. P. Hib. ii 216, 9; P. Tebt. 328, 3 seq.; 1197 11. The office was that of ferrying the grain from the harbour granaries to the corn barges: see Bömer, *Staatliche Korntransport* 27 seq.; Schwartz, *BIFAO* xlvii (1948), p. 191. The word, its spelling, and its cognates, are discussed by Frisk, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch* s.v. *διερῶν*, and Rédard, *Les Noms grecs en -της* 44 and 242.

21-22 *Κλαυδίου Φίρμου*: 23 July 264 is now the earliest known date of this prefecture; P. Berl. Inv. 1463 belongs to the twelfth year of Gallienus (1194 introd.; Stein, *Die Präfecten* 146). The historical problems which involve this Firmus and some namesakes are discussed by C. H. Roberts, P. Merton 1, pp. 157 seqq.

<sup>1</sup> Nome-irenarchs appear in 261 (BGU vii 1568: Arsinoites and Nicopolites), 262 (P. Strassb. 5 with *BL* 1404: Hermopolites), and 291 (SB 8199: Medamūd). An irenarch of a toparchy is known for 259 (2108: Hermopolites); an irenarch of a pagus for 334 (P. Thead. 24-25: Arsinoites). The evidence for village-irenarchs before the 4th cent. is weak; (a) P. Achmim 7 ii 19 Wessely's reading has been rejected; (b) P. Fay. 23 ii 20 *ερα( )*!; (c) SB 4422 is dated palaeographically to 'about the end of the Roman period'; (d) P. Flor. 76, 52 (not long after A.D. 266) may be evidence, but makes no sense as it stands.

## 2569. RESIGNATION FROM A LITURGY

11.5 × 25 cm.

24 September, A.D. 265

This papyrus gives some new information about the supply of water to the baths in the Thermae at Oxyrhynchus. The contractor for the supply writes to the *prytanis*, pointing out that he has already served a month more than was specified in his contract, which he undertook on the urging of the senate. He says that the Nile flood is slow and that there is consequently a shortage of fodder for the beasts, perhaps the oxen that worked the pumps (cf. P. Lond. 1177 112 seqq.), and advises the *prytanis* to notify the two (former?) *exegetae* in charge of the water drawing for the next month so that they may undertake the supply.

The *exegetae* appear to have been the superiors of the contractor. They are perhaps to be compared with the *φροντισται εισαγωγῆς ὑδάτων καπέλλων καὶ κρηνῶν μητροπόλεως* of Arsinoe (P. Lond. 1177 7 seqq.), who seem to have managed the whole of the city's water-supply, but since *τῆς τῶν ἀντλησμάτων . . . ὑπηρεσίας* (28-30) evidently means to convey the sense of *ἀνμῆσεως ὑδάτων πολιτικῶν θερμῶν βαλαλείων* (5-7) in the contractor's title, and the *exegetae* are described as *προϊστάνόμενοι τῶν ἀντλησμάτων*, it seems better to conclude that their function was the supervision of the contractor's work and not to speculate how much more they may have done.

The text shows again the reluctance of the citizens to undertake liturgies at this time. Didymus served only after being 'pressed' by the senate (14), no successor could be found for Thoth, when he continued to serve, and apparently none had been found for Phaophi by 27 Thoth.

Ἀυρήλιω Μουνατίω ἀγορ(ανομήσαντι) καὶ ἐξηγ(ητεύσαντι), [γ]υ-  
μν(ασιάρχῃ), βουλ(ευτῆ), ἐνάρχω πρυτάνει τῆς

- Ἰουλίω (Ἰουλιανῷ) πόλ(εως)  
παρὰ Ἀυρήλιου Διδύμου Διδύμου βου-  
λευτοῦ γενομέν[ο]ν μισθωτοῦ ἀνε-  
μήσεως ὑδάτων πολιτικῶν θερ-  
μῶν βαλανείων μηνῶν ἐννέα  
τοῦ διεληθόντος ἔβ(ἔτους): μόλις μὲν καὶ  
παρὰ δύναμιν διὰ τὸ ἰδίωμα μά-  
λιστα καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ παρελθόντος ἔ-  
τους διανύσαι τὰ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας πε-  
ρὶ πλείστον ἐποικήσῃν ὥστε καὶ  
κατὰ τοὺς δηλουμένους μῆνας μὴ  
ἀ[πο]θεῖσαι προτραπέντα μηδὲ  
δ[η]λῶν πρὸς τὴν τοῦδε τοῦ μηνὸς χο-  
ρηγίαν ἐξώθεν τῆς μισθώσεως  
ὄντος: κυνορᾶν δ[ε] καὶ ἐ νομί-  
ζω τὴν παροῦσαν ἐς τὸδε τῆς ἀγα-  
βάσεως βραδυτῆτα δι' ἣν τὸ πα-  
ρόν αἱ τῶν κτηνῶν τροφαὶ εἰς τῆς α-  
νίξιν δοκοῦν[ε]ν ὡς χρῆν σε τοῖς  
προϊστανομέν[ο]σιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξηγη-  
τῶν τῶν ἀντ[ι]λή[ξ]ιμων τοῦ ἐπιόν-  
τος μην[ὸ]ς Φα[ω]φί καὶ αὐτοῦ ὁμοί-  
ως τῆ μισθώσεως μὴ ἐμφορομέ-  
νου Σεπτιμῶν [ . . . ] καὶ Ἀγαθῶ Δαί-  
μονι Ποτάμωρο[ς] φανερόν ποιῆ-  
σαι, ὅπως τῆς τῶν ἀντλησιμῶν  
τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐξή[ξ]η[σ]ι μὲν ἀντ[ι]λή[ξ]ιμων  
τῆς ὑπηρεσίας, εἰ μὲν διὰ τὴν προειρη-  
μένη[ν] αἰτίαν ἀπηγορευκέναι ὁ-  
μολογ[ο]ῦ[σ]ιν[το]ς (ἔτους) ἢ Ἀυτοκράτορος  
Καίσαρος Πουπλίου Λικινίου  
Γαλληνοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου  
Ἐυεβοῦς Ἐντυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ  
Θῶθ (π. 2) κ[α]ί. Ἀυρήλιος Διδύμος βουλευ-  
τῆς ἐπιδέδωκα\*

\*To Aurelius Munatius, ex-agoranomus and exegetes, (ex-?) gymnasiarch, senator, prytanis in office of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelius Didymus, son of Didymus, senator, formerly contractor for the drawing of municipal water for the baths of the Thermae for nine months of the past twelfth year.

I thought it important to fulfil the duties of the service, with difficulty and to an extent beyond my means, especially on account of the peculiar circumstances of the same past year, so that as well

as not failing, after I had been pressed (to serve), during the months aforesaid, I did not, in fact, even do so in the supply for this month, though it is outside the contract. I believe that you too realize the present sluggishness of the Nile flood up to this point, on which account at present fodder for beasts seems to be running short, so that it behoves (-ed?) you to notify those of the exegetae who are in charge of the water-drawing for the coming month of Phaophi, since it also is not included in the contract, (namely) Septimius . . . and Agathus Daemon, son of Potamon, so that they may take over the service of the water-drawing for the same ensuing month, since I declare that I have resigned for the aforesaid cause.

\*Thirteenth year of the Emperor Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus Germanicus Maximus Pius Felix Augustus. Thoth (2nd hd.) 27th. I, Aurelius Didymus, submitted (the document).<sup>1</sup>

1 ἀγορῆς ἐξηγῆς [γ]υ[μ]ν[ο]σ[τ]ῆ βου[λ]ῆ: papyrus. The presence of καὶ in this position and its absence after ἐξηγῆς suggests that he was agoranomus and exegetes at the same time. The prytanis may have been a gymnasiarch, cf., e.g., *CPHerm.* 59, 3 seqq., or an ex-gymnasiarch, cf., e.g., 55 2.

2 πρυτάνει: the prytanis had a special responsibility for the baths, v. 1104 15 seqq., 1252 verso ii 22, 1499 1, 1500.

3 οὐνό: papyrus.

5 μισθωτοῦ: cf. μισθωταὶ ὑδροπαροχίας καὶ ἀχυροπαροχίας [τοῦ ἐν τῷ πρα]ϊτωρίῳ βαλανείου *Archiv* iv 115 seqq., col. i 12 seqq. (Antinoopolis A.D. 258), and ὑδροπαροχίους 2128 2. *CPHerm.* 95 and 96 seem to concern a contract for supplying water, cf. Wilcken, *Archiv* iii 546.

1. ἀνιμήσεως: the word is rare and new in the papyrus.

6 πολιτικῶν may possibly qualify βαλανεῖα cf. 53 6 θερμῶν δημοσίου βαλανείου, 896 8 θερμῶν δημοσίου τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως βαλανείου. For public baths in Egypt see A. Calderini in *Rend. Ist. Lomb.* ser. 2, lii (1919), pp. 297 seqq. and lviii (1924), pp. 737 seqq.

θερμῶν: there seem to have been two Thermae at Oxyrhynchus at some time between A.D. 138 and 160 (473 5 μισθῶν θερμῶν); Ἀθριανὰ θ. are mentioned in 54 14 (A.D. 201), *Τραϊανὰ Ἀθριανὰ θ.* in 896 7 (A.D. 316). P. Giss. 50, 7 seqq. ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ [ἐν τῆς Ἀντωνιανῆς [καί] Τραϊανῆς θερμῶν (A.D. 259) seems to show that the *Ἀντωνιανὰ θ.* (2128 12 2nd/3rd cent.) were the same. Perhaps there was only one set of Thermae later, cf. 43 verso iii 10 (*post* A.D. 295).

9 ἰδίωμα: cf. P. Lond. 1227, 10 (iii, p. 143).

14 προτραπέντα: the word is used of senators exhorting prospective liturgists to serve, cf. 1418 5, 9, 17, 1415 23, 1416 5, 6.

20 δι' ἣν . . . σπανίξιν δοκοῦν: the connexion between a slow, and probably low, Nile and the shortage of fodder at this moment is not very easy to see. In a normal year the water would be at its highest point or subsiding but there could have been no new crops expected till after the sowing and growing periods still to come. A supply of dried fodder should have been planned to last much later than Thoth 27 and it would not be the fault of this year's Nile if it did not. Perhaps he is referring to a shortage to be expected later, i.e. σπανίξιν would have to be translated 'to be running short' rather than 'to be in short supply'. In a lately published Byzantine document (T. Reekmans, *A Sixth-century Account of Hay*, 1962) the grazing begins again after the end of Hathyr, but cut grass is in short supply as early as Payni (p. 25). A list of papyri dealing with difficulties in the provision of hay is given there on p. 26.

21 χρῆν: according to Preis. *WB* ἐχρῆν is the only form of the imperfect found in the papyri (P. Leipzig 39 5 (4th cent.), 900 7 (4th), 1163 5 (5th)), χρῆναι the only form of the infinitive (P. Mon. 6 27 (6th)).

22 ἀπὸ τ. ἐξηγητῶν: this probably means 'of the rank of exegetes' rather than 'former exegetae', for which the usual expression would be ἐξηγητεύσαντων (E. G. T.). The language of 891 10 seqq. (ἐξηγητοῦ ζητουμένου εἰς τὰς α[ . . . ] μ[ε]ρ[ε]ς ἕως ἑξῆς, εἶδοξε ὡστε ἐμὲ μὲν προσεῖναι, τὰ δὲ ἀναλώματα ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινού τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πάγματος δοθῆναι) compared with προϊστανομένους ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν suggests that

<sup>1</sup> I inspected the original of 891, now Bodl. MS. Gr. class. f. 89 (P), and found that in l. 11 ἑξῆρ[μ]α[ς] might be read. There is a long descender just before the gap. Between that and the first letter of the line there must have been another letter, which might have been an ε of the type formed of two curved strokes, one for the bottom half of the letter and the second for the top and crossbar, of which there is an example in ὡσερ l. 12. The first letter, read confidently and plausibly

Septimius and Agathus Daemon, s. of Potamon, (26), were members of the board of exegetae at this date. Agathus Daemon appears also in P. Mert. 26 of 8 Feb. 274 as an exegetes, perhaps after having been reappointed, though liturgies are known to have been held for fairly long periods at this time (1418 15 n.).

## 2570. DECLARATIONS OF PRICES BY GUILDS

25 × 27 cm.

A.D. 329

Part of a series of declarations like 85 (A.D. 338) and PSI 202 and P. Rendel Harris 73 (both of about the same date), addressed to the logistes of the nome by the several guilds (*κοινά*) of workmen about the goods which they have in stock. These statements were taken by Grenfell and Hunt in their original edition of 85 to be of 'the value . . . of the goods in stock at the end of the month', and this conclusion was followed by subsequent editors of similar texts; but a manuscript note in Hunt's copy of *P. Oxy.*, part i, in the Hunt Library in Oxford suggests that the reference was to the current price of the goods in stock, the resolution of (e.g.) 85 iv 17 being: *κριθῆς (ἀρτάβης) α τάλ(αντα) υγ (δηνάρια) φ*. This seems borne out by our text. 2562, the beginning of which is itself lost, was evidently written on the back of a piece torn from a roll of which this text was only a small part. Col. i contains only some ends of lines from a declaration by a guild which is unidentifiable:

<sup>13</sup> μηδὲν διεψίξενθαι / <sup>14</sup> ] . / <sup>15</sup> ] . α χ φ / <sup>16</sup> ] . . . και <sup>17</sup> ] . ἐπιλε

ii is the declaration of the 'potters of earthenware pottery', and iii that of the perfumers. This last is of some interest, containing as it does several unknown names of drugs, and some otherwise unexampled forms (mostly diminutives) of known names. On the guilds, see San Nicolo, *Ag. Vereinswesen*, pp. 66 seqq.; Johnson and West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies*, pp. 151 seqq.

by GH as α, is damaged at the bottom and the top is a loop formed by a stroke first rising vertically and then bending to the left and down again in an arc to cross the vertical. It is true that the other thetas in the text (ll. 15, 18) are more formal, being made up of three separate strokes, but a θ finishing in the way described is not unusual. If this were the correct reading in 891 11, there would be a greater presumption that the exegetae in the present text have no powers outside the supervision of the contractor, see introd. para. 2.

- ii ὑπατείας τῶν  
δεσποτῶν ἤ[μῶν]  
Κωνσταντίνου  
ἀγούστου τὸ η' καὶ  
5 Κωνσταντίνου τῶν  
ἐπιφανεστάτου Καί[α]ρρος  
τὸ δ' Φαῶφι λ-  
Φλαουίῳ Ἰουλιανῶ  
λογιστῇ Ὀξυρ[υγ]χίτου  
10 παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν  
κεραμέων κεραμικοῦ  
[κ]εράμου τ[ῆς] λα[μ]πράς καὶ λα[μ]προτάτης Ὀξ[υρ]υγχιτῶν  
[π]όλεως δι' ἐμοῦ Α[ύρ]ο[υ] (ηλίου)  
Δημητρίου [ε]πιλε[ ]  
15 προσφωνῶ ἰδ[ίω] τι-  
μήματι τὴν ἐξῆ[ς] ἐν-  
γεγραμμένην [τιμὴν]  
ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ [μην]ος  
ὧν χιρίζωμ[εν] ἄνλων,  
20 καὶ ὀμνῶ τὸν θε[ο]ν  
ὄρκον μηδὲν διε-  
ψεύθαι. ἔστι δε-  
πίσσης ξηρᾶς . . . [ ]  
τικῆς κεν[τηναρίου] α . . . [ ]  
25 τρ[.] . αδ[.] . . . ας κε[ν]τηναρίου) . .  
Αὐρ[ήλιος] Δημήτριος ἐπιλε[ ]  
. . . προσφ[ωνῶ] ὡς πρό[κει]ται, ο α. ρ. . . [ . . . ] .  
ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μὴ εἰδότες.

ii 19 l. χιρίζωμ[εν] 23 After ξηρᾶς: ετρη[ ] could be read 24 At end: τάλ possible 27 Be-  
fore προσφ[ωνῶ]: a descender followed by two diagonal strokes. At end: after α: γ possible

- iii [ὑ]πατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κ[ωνσταντίνου Αὐγούστου τὸ η' καὶ]  
 Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Κ[αίσαρος τὸ δ' Φαῶφι λ].  
 Φλαουίῳ Ὑουλιανῷ λ[ογιστῆ τοῦ Ὁξυρυγίτου]  
 παρὰ τοῦ κρινοῦ τῶν μυροπῶλων [τῆς λα(μπράς) καὶ λα(μυροτάτης) Ὁξ(υρυγίτων)  
 πόλεως ...]
- 5 Θεωφῶς Θεώωνος προσφωνῶ ἰδίῳ τ[ιμῆματι τὴν ἐξῆς ἐγγεγραμμένην]  
 τιμὴν ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ μηνός ὄν χ[ειρίζομεν ἄνιων· καὶ ὀμνύω τὸν θεῖον]  
 ὄρκον μηδὲν διεψεύσθαι. [ἔστι δε· ]
- |                    |                           |                |                       |
|--------------------|---------------------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| (a) πιπέρεως       | λυ(τρ.) α τάλ. β          | (b) [          | λυ(τρ.) α ...         |
| λιβάνου            | λυ(τρ.) α τάλ. β          | [              | λυ(τρ.) α ...         |
| μαλαβάθρου         | λυ(τρ.) α τάλ. ν          | ...χλω..[      | λυ(τρ.) α ...         |
| στύρακος ὑψηλοῦ    | λυ(τρ.) α τάλ. κ          | ζγκιπέρεως [   | λυ(τρ.) α ...         |
| 5 στύρακος ἐλαφροῦ | λυ(τρ.) α τάλ. ι          | 5 πατήμ[ατος   | λυ(τρ.) α ...         |
| κόστου             | λυ(τρ.) α τάλ. ε          | ἀσφαλάν[θ]ο[υ] | λυ(τρ.) α τ[άλ. ...   |
| μαστίχης           | λυ(τρ.) α τάλ. .          | ἀρναβ...ατιων  | λυ(τρ.) α [ ...       |
| ἀμώμου             | λυ(τρ.) α τάλ. σ          | σαγέλεως       | λυ(τρ.) α (δην.) ἀ    |
| βδέλλης            | λυ(τρ.) α τάλ. .          | σφαγνίου       | λυ(τρ.) α (δην.) ...[ |
| 10 κακίας          | λυ(τρ.) α τάλ. .[         | 10 ειρωγων     | λυ(τρ.) α (δην.) .[   |
| κα[λ]άμου          | λυ(τρ.) α τάλ. .[         | ἐλενιδίου      | λυ(τρ.) α (δην.) ἀ    |
| [ψ]ιμπίου          | λυ(τρ.) α τάλ. α (δην.) ἀ | ἀλκεωτίδος     | λυ(τρ.) α (δην.) ἀ    |
| [ε]ανδικίου        | λυ(τρ.) α τάλ. .δ[        | ὄνυχίων [      | λυ(τρ.) α ...         |
| ζμύρνης            | λυ(τρ.) α τάλ. [...       | ...μο[         | λυ(τρ.) α ...         |
- Subscription: Αὐρ(ηλι...) .....

iii (a) ι ἰ (and so throughout) 7 I. μαστίχης. Figure at end: ι or λ? 9 Figure at end:  
 σ or π? 10 Figure at end: α? 12 I. ψιμπίου (b) 4 I. ζγκιπέρεως 6 I. ἀσφαλάνου 7 ἀρ-  
 ναβωρατίων? 8 OI σατέλεως? 14 First letter: κ or ν; next letters: λο?

ii 11 seq. For κεραμικός κέραμος, cf. *IG* 4<sup>2</sup> (i) 102. 281 (p. 323), 4th cent. B.C. (Epidaurus). For the  
 pottery industry in Egypt in the Byzantine period, see Johnson and West, op. cit., pp. 115 seq.

14 [ε]π[ι]λ[ε]ι[ε]...: or possibly [ε]π[ι]λ[ε]ι[ε]...: so also i 17; ii 26; in each case the passage is damaged.  
 ἐπιλε(χθελε)ε?

23 seq. πίσσης ξηρᾶς κ.τ.λ.: for the use of pitch in the preparation of wine jars, see Johnson and  
 West, op. cit., p. 115. Many references to πίσση in the papyrus documents are in connexion with pottery  
 and the wine industry; cf. introd. to 2580, below.

25 This will have begun a new item.

27 ὁ ἀγορ[...?]

iii 4 For the μυροπῶλαι, see Johnson and West, op. cit., pp. 125 ff. Their guild is mentioned in BGU  
 9, col. i, ll. 17 seqq.

iii (a) 4 seq. The differentiation of storax into 'tall' and 'dwarf' seems otherwise unexampled,  
 though Dioscorides (i 66) enumerates two kinds or qualities.

9 βδέλλα = βδέλλον; well known as an alternative form; see LSJ, s.v.  
 (b) 5 πατήμ[ατος]: cf. 1142, 3; 1156, 9 (both 3rd cent.); *dai Papiro della Soc. ital.* (1965) (*Omaggio al xi congresso di pap.*) No. 12, 10 (3rd cent.) στύρακος πατήματος, where the editor suggests the  
 meaning 'pesto' (*rounded spice*) rather than 'trodden grapes'.

7 ἀρναβ...ατιων: ἀρναβῶ (var. ἀρναβόν), 'Zedoary', occasionally mentioned in the medical texts;  
 here uncertain whether this is all one word or two; if the former it will be an otherwise unexampled  
 diminutive form, as σφάγγιον (b) 9; ἐλενιδιον (b) 11; ὄνυχιον (b) 13, below.

8 σαγέλεως (or possibly σατέλεως): unknown.

10 ειρωγων: unknown.

12 ἀλκεωτίδος: unknown; a herb, 'elk's-ear'?

13 ὄνυχίων: presumably diminutive of the aromatic substance in Diosc. ii 8.

## 2571. REPORT OF MEAT

Plate VII

9 × 25 cm.

27 July, A.D. 338

This is an account of deliveries of meat and silver submitted by a village liturgist  
 to a *beneficiarius* on the staff of the prefect of Egypt. Because of the reference in *SPP*  
 xx 75 i 15 seqq. to a β(ενε)φ(ικι)νάριος τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἀπαιτῶν τὰς ἀνώνιας τοῦ ἡγεμόνος  
 I am inclined to think that the deliveries may have been part of the prefect's salary  
 (see Hübner, *Der Praefectus Aegypti*, p. 18; Johnson and West, *Byz. Eg. Econ. Studies*,  
 p. 229) rather than of the better-known *annonna militaris*.

Judging by the poor style of the document and the village origin of Aurelius Cal-  
 listus I should guess that he was one of the college of ἀπαιτηταὶ ἀνώνης (cf. P. Amh.  
 139; Gelzer, *Studien*, p. 58), or an ἀπαιτητῆς κρέως (cf. 2232 12, which refers to the same  
 village).

Φλαου(ί)ω Ουαλεριανῶ β(ενε)φ(ικιαρίω) τάξεω  
 ἐπάρχου Αἰγύπτου[υ]  
 Αὐρήλιος Κάλλιςτος Ἀβόριος ἀπὸ κώ(μη)ς  
 Κεσμούχως ἡ πάγου τρυῶ Ὁξυρυχίτου  
 5 νομοῦ· ἐπιζητοῦντι ἡμῶν τῆς  
 σαματιζομένη[η]ς ἡτη χιριφισα  
 λιτουργίαν κρέως γενήματος  
 ιβ' ἰνδικτίωνος, ἐν μὲν τῷ εἶδει  
 παραδεδῶκαμεν ἐν χοίροις κρέως  
 10 λίτρας πεντακοσίας ἐβ[δο]μήκοντα  
 καὶ ἐν ἀργυρίοις . . . αρταίς κρέως  
 λίτρας τριάκοντα ἐκ ταλαντων  
 δύο καὶ δραχμὰς διςχιλίας· κατὰ [ . . . ] ταῦτα  
 ὁμολογοῦμεν ὁμνύντες τὸν  
 15 σεβάσμιον θε[ο]ν ὄρκον τῶν πάντων(ν)  
 ἀνικητῶν τῶν δεσποτῶν Αὐτοκρατορ( )  
 τε καὶ Καيسάρων μηδὲν διεψεύθεσθαι  
 εἰ ἐνο[χ]οί εἴημεν τῷ θεῷ ὄρκω καὶ τῷ  
 20 ἐπερτημένω κινδύνω ὡς πρόκ(εῖται)  
 ἔστι δέ·  
 Εὐδαίμονι πραιποσί(τω) ἐν ἀ(ρ)γυρ( ) λί(τρα) λ  
 ὑπατίας Φλαυρίου Ὁρσου καὶ Πολεμίου  
 τῶν λαμπροτάτων· Μεσορή γ'  
 [Αὐρήλιος Κάλ]λιςτος ἐπιδέδωκα·  
 25 Αὐρήλι[ος] . . . ρος ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ α(ὐτοῦ)  
 μὴ εἶδ(ότος) γράμματα·

3 κῶ 6 χιριφισαν : θ corrected from τ 15 παντῶ 16 αυτοκρατορ 18 λ. ἡ 19 λ. ἐπη-  
 ρημένω προκ 22 λ. ὑπατίας 25 α

'To Flavius Valerianus, beneficiarius of the staff of the prefect of Egypt, Aurelius Callistus, son of Aboris, from the village of Kesmouchis of the eighth pagus of the Oxyrhynchite nome. To your request for (an account) of the liturgy of meat of the produce of the twelfth indiction registered or entrusted to us (we report that) in kind we have delivered 570 pounds of meat in pigs, and in silver . . . thirty pounds of meat at the price of two talents, two thousand drachmae. Accordingly, having sworn the august, divine oath of the universally invincible, the lords the Emperor(s) and the Caesars, that we have told no lies or may we be liable to the established penalty, we make our declaration as is aforesaid.

Item. To Eudaemon the praepositus in silver . . . thirty pounds.  
 In the consulship of Flavius Ursus and Polemius, *virī clarissimi*. Mesore 3rd.

'I, Aurelius Callistus, submitted the report.  
 'I, Aurelius . . . wrote on his behalf because he is illiterate.'

1 beneφικιαρίω v. A. Stein, *Die Präfekten* p. 171; P. Cair. Isid. 63 introduction.  
 τάξεως ἐπάρχου: v. Hübner, op. cit., pp. 33 seqq. The prefect for this period is not precisely known. Flavius Antonius Theodorus replaced Flavius Philagrius in 337 and served till at least 28 Mar. 338; between then and the end of the year Philagrius returned to the office for a second time (C. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets d'Égypte de 284 à 395*, pp. 15, 129-30). It is just possible that this report may have been required because of the change of prefects. More likely it was part of the routine.

Ἀβόριος: not in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*; perhaps = Ἀβούρις, ibid. s.v.; and cf. Ἀβάρικ (gen.) P. Bad. ii 53, 9. We should probably read παρὰ Αὐρηλίον Καλλίςτου, cf. P. Cair. Isid. 9, 11, 13.  
 5 seqq. Read, e.g., ἐπιζητοῦντι <οὐ λόγον> τῆς σαματιζομένης ἡμῶν ἡτοι <ἐν> χειριφείσσης λιτουργίας κρέως γενήματος ιβ' ἰνδικτίωνος <δηλοῦμεν ὅτι> κ.τ.λ.

11 My only idea is ἐν ἀργυρίοις (= -εἰσὶς) χάρταις 'sheets of silver'. This expression would be intelligible (cf. χάρταις μολύβδων LSJ) and taxes were certainly paid in silver bullion (*ἀσημιον*) in the 4th cent. (Johnson and West, *Currency*, p. 119), but it has not occurred before to my knowledge and the supposed χ is not wholly satisfactory. It resembles λ more closely. Ἀργυρίω χρῶ (cf. P. Ant. 38, 17) is not a possible reading. It may, just possibly, be relevant that in a 4th-cent. account (P. Harris 97, 14, 15) the item 'price of bullion: 21 tal. 700 den.' is immediately followed by τ(μῆ) χαρτῶν with a price of over 100 talents.

12 λ. ταλάντων δύο καὶ δραχμῶν διςχιλίων: as a total this seems too low in comparison with prices given in Johnson and West, *Byz. Eg. Econ. Studies*, p. 185, though the texts are not well dated and the prices vary greatly. ἐκ often means 'at so much each' and 14,000 drachmae might be more suitable as a price per pound, but if so the omission of the total is strange.

13 κατὰ [ . . . ] ταῦτα: between the second α and τ there is a letter struck through, and τ is itself corrected, but the phrase is common form, cf. 897 10, 1265 14.

16 The formula is puzzling because no Caesars are known for this year apart from the three emperors, who were also Augusti from 9 Sept. 337. An oath formula of December 338 (P. Vind. Sijpesteijn I i 7 seqq. and repeated in ii 5-7) is ὁμνός τῃν θεῶν οὐράνιον τύχηρ τῶν τὰ πάντα νικῶντων δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν βασιλέων, which is probably correct. What stands here is either the formula for Constantine's reign, i.e. Αὐτοκράτορ(ος), etc. cf. 1265 16 seqq., taken over without change, or a faulty attempt to adapt it to the new reign, i.e. Αὐτοκρατορ(ων), etc., ignoring the fact that there were no Caesars.

19 λ. ἐπερτημένω: προκ' pap.

21 Εὐδαίμονι: perhaps -ωνι was written.

πραίποσι pap., without a mark of abbreviation, as also perhaps in 2232 3. Probably he was the *praepositus pagi*, whose work included the receipt of taxes (cf. 2114), but *praepositus* is also a military title and see 60 and 1513 for deliveries of meat to them. This delivery, of course, was the one made in silver; the deliveries in kind are mistakenly omitted here.

## 2572-6. ORDERS TO ARREST

These chits show no divergence from the normal form: for the parallels, see P. Lund vi 2, introduction (add P. Fay. 37; *Symb. OsI.* xxxvii (1962), p. 139). 2574 is exceptional in being written along the fibres (compare P. Cairo Preis. 5, P. Merton 29, P. Lund vi 2).

The orders are as usual undated. They are written in hands of the second and third centuries, and addressed to the archepodus—an official who makes his first appearance in a dated Oxyrhynchite document in A.D. 190 (69) and his last in 238/44



(80), but seems to have existed already in the early second century (969)<sup>1</sup> and to have survived into the fourth (1193).<sup>2</sup>

1212, a similar order, has been reused for a list of vegetables delivered to the archepodus. It seems probable, then, that such papers remained in the archepodus's archives and were not returned with the prisoner.

2572. 15.8 × 8.5 cm. Across the fibres. Second century A.D. The papyrus shows three folds parallel with the writing, and one across. During folding, the wet ink offset above and below the text.

ἀρχεφόδω Τανάεωσ· πέμψον  
Πετεακῆν μητρός Τασεῦτος

'To the head-policeman of Tanais. Send Peteaces son of Taseus.'

<sup>1</sup> Τανάεωσ: Tanais in the middle toparchy (2422 52, 1747 44, 1659 64, 1444 8, etc.).

<sup>2</sup> Πετεακῆν: the name is absent from the indexes of P. Oxy. and from the *Namenbuch* (but cf. Πετεακῆς).

2573. 16 × 8.3 cm. Across the fibres. Second century A.D. The papyrus shows four folds parallel with the writing, and one across. During folding the wet ink offset, producing a mirror image of l. 3 on the back of the sheet.

ἀρχεφόδω Ταλαῶ· πέμψον Κεφάλωνα  
Ἡρακλήου μητρός Θωήσιωσ ὀριδοῦξί-  
κτην καὶ ἱερείωσ Ἰσιδοσ τῆσ ἀτῆσ

'To the head-policeman of Talao. Send Cephalon son of Heraclius and Thaeis, boundary-marker, and priests of Isis in the same village.'

<sup>1</sup> Ταλαῶ: Talao in the lower toparchy (2422 83, 1659 105, etc.).

<sup>2-3</sup> ὀριδοῦξίκτην: for this official, who appears first in the late 2nd cent. and disappears in the later 4th cent., see *JJP* vi (1952), pp. 260 seqq.

2574. 8.6 × 10 cm. With the fibres. Second century A.D. The piece of papyrus here used seems to have been cut off the sheet or roll to the right of a completed document (perhaps a similar order): the tails of three final letters can be seen at the left edge, c. 4.5, 6.5, and 8 cm. respectively below the top.

ἀρχεφόδω Συναρύ [ ]  
Διονύσιον Ἐρμογένουσ [ ]  
Ἰγίξ[τ]ου Σαραπίωγοσ[ ]

<sup>1</sup> The Oxyrhynchites was late in adopting the office: it is attested for the Arsinoites in the early 1st cent. B.C. (P. Tebt. 90, introd.), and for the Herakleopolites in the later 1st cent. (BGU viii 1855, 7, iv 1060, 33). Then at Euemeria in A.D. 29 (P. Ryl. 127), at Caranis under Claudius (P. Mich. vi 421), etc.

<sup>2</sup> The reading might be doubted: but W. *Chr.* 382. 10 is certain (A.D. 359, Philadelphia), and compare P. Princ. ii 99, 6.

'To the head-policeman of Sinary. (Send) Dionysius son of Hermogenes . . . Justus son of Sarapion . . .'

<sup>1</sup> Σιναρύ: Sinary in the lower toparchy (2422 92, 1659 102, 1462 26, etc.).

<sup>2</sup> The shortest supplement would be [ἐντυχόντοσ, cf. 969, etc. (A commoner formula is [ἐγκαλοῦμενον ὑπό, and this occurs in the Oxyrhynchite text *Symb. Osl.* xxxvii (1962), p. 139.) In any case [πέμψον in 1 will make a rather short line: probably [μετάπεμψον (969).

2575. 20.1 × 7.9 cm. Across the fibres. Second to third century. The hand is mannered and flamboyant, with a tall narrow epsilon, triangular phi, and flattened omega; hypsilon appears generally as 7, once as Υ.

ἀρχεφόδω Ταρουθίνου Ἐποικίου· π[έμ]ψο[ν]  
Ἄνδρ[ό]μαχ[ο]ν καὶ Παοῦν γερδίουσ [ . . . ] τ[ε]  
[ . . . ] ὑπλοῦτο[ . . . ] να. δ[ . . . ] ἐντυ[χ]όν[τ]ων τ[ε]-  
λωνῶν βαφικῆσ

'To the head-policeman of Tarouthinou Epoikion. Send Andromachus and Paous, weavers . . . at the petition of the collectors for the dyeing trade.'

<sup>1</sup> Ταρουθίνου Ἐποικίου: Tarouthinou Epoikion, perhaps in the Eastern toparchy (384).

<sup>2</sup> τ[ε]: before τ, a vertical sloping slightly to the right.

<sup>3</sup> [ . . . ] ὑ: an upright.

[ . . . ] να. δ[ . . . ]: before ν, an upright; after α, a long descender.

<sup>3-4</sup> The traces and the spacing allow, I think, e.g. «[α]» Τ[ε] [ξ] Πλοῦτο[ν] κ[α] [να]δ[ο]ν: but clearly this reading has little else to be said for it. (κείναιοι are professional dancers: P. Tebt. 208, SB 7182, 96, *CIG* iv 4926 and notes.)

<sup>3-4</sup> τ[ε]λωνῶν βαφικῆσ: the office is not attested, but ἐπιτηρηταὶ μισθοῦ βαφικῆσ appear in P. Ryl. 98. For sets of telonai and epiteretai in the same monopoly compare the γερδιακῶν, and, e.g., 2472. The epiteretai in P. Ryl. 98 figure as lessors of the *ἰστωναρχία* at Archelais: the telonai here may have a similar reason for their interest in the two weavers.

2576. 9.6 × 9.9 cm. Across the fibres. Third century. Below the writing is a blob of dried clay or mud about 2 cm. long and 1½ cm. wide, bearing an oval seal-impression.

The seal shows a nude standing figure. The impression is blurred, and even on an enlarged photograph some details remain doubtful. Most probably, I think, the figure's head looks to the spectator's right. The right arm (on the spectator's left) is crooked upward at the elbow; the hand holds a straight rod, and from the elbow hangs a fold of drapery. Behind the neck, and above the forehead, are sharp peaks which suggest a *petasos*. (I owe these points to Mr. N. J. Richardson and Miss J. MacIver. Others have thought that the right arm is lowered: the rod and the drapery then make up a sceptre or a sprouting cornucopia!) I have found no exact parallel. Some features recur in the clay sealings from the Fayûm published by Milne, *JHS* xxvi (1906), pp. 32 seqq. (esp. nos. 39-44 and 50); and Dr. J. R. Harris points out likenesses with the figure of Harpocrates of Pelusium (Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets* 140 seqq.). An inscription seems to have run round the edge of the oval, since the letters ΔΟ are discernible at the bottom left, and Ε at the bottom right.

This is evidently a private seal, like that on P. Lond. ii 379 (a laconic note to an archepodus and the presbyteri—*μὴ παρενοχλῆτε Ἀκιδρι*). Official seals are found on two other orders to arrest: P. Gen. 102 (*Archiv* 3, 226), which is sealed with the inscription *ὁ στρατηγός σε καλεῖ*; and P. Tebt. 290, whose seal has the same inscription enclosing a bust of (perhaps) the emperor.<sup>1</sup> The seal would of course serve as authentication—presumably from the strategus or one of his subordinates, since these orders seem to have emanated from his office (P. Lund vi, p. 9).

ἀρχεφόδω Μερμέρθων·  
πέμψον Ἐρωτα οὐ[ν]έμ-  
πορον ἐντυχόντος Διοσ-  
κόρου × × × × × × × × × ×  
5 [×] × × ×

<sup>1</sup> To the head-policeman of Mermertha. Send Eros the wine-merchant at the petition of Dioscorus.

<sup>1</sup> *Μερμέρθων*: Mermertha in the upper toparchy (2129 2, 1659 17, etc.).

<sup>4-5</sup> The border as in BGU 148 and 634; P. Cairo Preis. 5; P. Lund. vi 2 (and, e.g., in the customs receipt P. Merton i 20). It was perhaps a precaution against unlicensed additions (Knudtzon).

## 2577. ORDER FROM STRATEGUS

8.2 × 10.2 cm.

Third or fourth century

The nome-governor requisitions transport and escort for a traveller: compare 1193. Guards were part of the normal village establishment (cf. 2121-2), and the head-policeman would have donkeys at his disposal (63).

The text is written along the fibres. The papyrus shows five folds at right angles to the writing. On the back are traces of a single line, parallel with the fibres: too little remains to show whether it was an address or a docket.

π(αρά) τοῦ στρατηγοῦ  
κωμάρχ(αις) καὶ ἀρχεφόδ(ω)  
κώμη(ς) Θερήσεως· δύο ὄνου  
καὶ ἐνὰ φύλακα τῶ ἀνα-  
5 διδοῦντι ἕμειν τὰ γράμ-  
ματα παράσχεται  
μέχρι τῆς Μέμφεως  
(2nd hd.?) ἔσχη(εωσαμένη)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the seals and customs receipts, which carry imperial portraits (Boak and Petersen, *Soknopraïou Nesos* 24 seq.; *TAPA* lxxxii (1951), pp. 164 sqq.). The use of seals is discussed in *Aeg.* xiv (1934), pp. 247 seqq.

1 π' 5 ἕμειν 6 l. παράσχετε

'From the strategus to the comarchs and archepodus of the village of Theresis. Provide two donkeys and one guard for the man who delivers this letter to you, as far as Memphis.'—'I have signed it.'

<sup>2</sup> ἀρχεφόδ(ω): a plural would be less usual (63 10; more often in the Fayûm, BGU 6, 5 and 22, 471, 3, 909, 10, P. Berl. Leihg. 6, 15, SB 7368, 11).

<sup>3</sup> *Θερήσεως*: this village is not attested in Preis. *WB*, or in the indexes of P. Oxy.

## 2578-9. TAX-RECEIPTS FOR ἑπικεφάλαιον

Four texts like these were known hitherto, PSI 163, 302, 462, and 780, discussed by A. Déleage, *La Capitation du Bas-Empire*, pp. 46 seqq., and by Johnson and West, *Byz. Eg. Econ. Studies*, pp. 260 seq. The hypothesis of Déleage, that the receipts are for a poll-tax of 1,200 dr. per person per annum, though it might seem to be supported by 2578, which records a payment of 2,400 dr. for a man and his son, leaves unexplained a payment of eight myriads in PSI 302. The new reading of (*μυριάδες*) ἦ' for (*μυριάδες*) κϵ was made by Professor Bartoletti and communicated to me by letter.

Johnson and West (p. 261) believe that these were payments for an 'assessment imposed on Oxyrhynchus . . . and apportioned among the citizens in accordance with their capacity to pay, that is, in accordance with their property'.

The second of these receipts is signed by a *μηνιάρχης*, that is by a guild official instead of, as usual (PSI 163, 462), by the *εὐεπάτης*, a municipal official. It seems from this that some of the contributions were made by the guild, which then recovered the money from its members. Payment of taxes by a guild seems to be attested for the fifth century by 1330 and 1331 (*v.* Johnson and West, *op. cit.*, pp. 153, 261). The occupation of the contributors seems to be specified (*v.* n. l. 9) as it is in PSI 780, 5 (*χουαῖς*). I had hoped that the doubtfully read PSI 780, 11 would prove to contain the word *μηνιάρχης* and the document would thus prove to be a parallel, but Professor Bartoletti checked the papyrus for me with this in mind and did not find it substantiated. He reads the line as follows: *-αυῆ μαρ ω ντο σεῆ*, which excludes my suggestion though an explanation still remains to be found.

The payment is one of 1,600 dr., which does not correspond with Déleage's theory, though a part payment in these circumstances is not impossible.

2578

8 × 15 cm.

30 March A.D. 298

διεγράφη ὑπ(ἐρ) ἐπικεφαλαίου τοῦ δε[ελθόν]το[ς] (ἔτους)  
 ιγ' καὶ ιβ' καὶ ε' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ  
 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ  
 Σεβαστῶν ὀνομα(άτων) Θωνίου καὶ Κάστορος υἱοῦ  
 5 δραχμὰς διςχιλίας τετρακοσίας (δραχμὰς) Βυ  
 ἔτους ιδ' καὶ ιγ' καὶ σ' Φαρμοῦθι δ'

Δίδυμος σεσημίωμαι

ι λ. ἐπικεφαλαίου 7 λ. σεσημίωμαι 8 υἱοῦ

'There was paid for capitation tax of the past thirteenth and twelfth and fifth year of our lords Diocletian and Maximian and Constantius and Maximian, Augusti, in the names of Thonius and Castor, his son, two thousand four hundred drachmae (dr. 2,400).

'In the fourteenth and thirteenth and sixth year, on the fourth Pharmouthi.

'I, Didymus, have signed.'

7 Δίδυμος: he is probably the *custātes* (cf. PSI 163, 462; Mertens, *Les Services*, pp. 39 seqq.), or possibly his *βσηθός* (PSI 462). Since the occupation of the taxpayers is not mentioned, I suppose that this is not a receipt from a guild official, but cf. 2579 11.

2579

13.5 × 9 cm.

4 August A.D. 313 (?)

(b) διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπικεφα-  
 λείου πόλεως τοῦ ἐνοστῶτος  
 [ξ] (ἔτους) καὶ ε (ἔτους) ἀκολουθῶς τῇ κε-  
 λείψει τοῦ διασημοτάτου  
 5 ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς χιλίας  
 ἑξακοσίας (δραχμὰς) Ἀχ' ὑπὲρ ὀνο-  
 μάτων δύο Δίοσκορος  
 κ[α] Παιγένης υἱὸς τοῦ προ-  
 κειμένου σιππασδὲς  
 10 Μεσορῆ ια'  
 Ἡρακλείδης μηνιάρχη  
 σεσημίωμαι

ι λ. ἐπικεφαλαίου 2 λ. ἐνοστῶτος  
 πάτων υἱός 12 λ. σεσημίωμαι

7-9 λ. Διοσκόρου καὶ Παιγένης υἱοῦ τοῦ προκειμένου σιπ-

'There was paid for the city capitation tax of the present (seventh) and fifth year in accordance with the command of the most illustrious . . . one thousand and six hundred drachmae of silver (dr. 1,600), under two names, Dioscorus and Pagenes, son of the aforesaid, tow-workers. Twelfth Mesore. 'I, Heracleides, president for the month, have signed.'

1 ἐπ(ε)κεφαλεῖον: no distinction between this and ἐπικεφαλαίου is intended, cf. 2131 10 n. On the phonetic equivalence of the two see L. R. Palmer, *Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri*, pp. 3, 48 n. 1.

3 [ξ]' καὶ ε' (Constantine and Licinius) = 312/13 cf. Wilcken, *Archiv* iii 383 seq. [ς]' καὶ ε', (Diocletian and Maximian) = 289/90 would be much earlier than the other documents, and the financial reform with which this tax is associated is thought to have occurred c. A.D. 297, cf. P. Cair. Isid. 1. A.D. 310/11 (7 Maximinus, 5 Constantine) is also possible, v. P. Cair. Isid. 54, 9 (?); 146, 4, 6, 8, 10.

6 λ: the sign for 1,000 is abnormal. It appears to be based on the usual one of a surmounted by a hook and looks rather like that combination in P. Warr. 12 15 (Pl. IV), but its construction is that of a Z with a crossbar, i.e. Ζ. Note that in P. Michael. 33, 10 and 14 ζ (ἡμικο) was misread as α (ἡμικο) v. *TAPA* lxxxix (1958), pp. 378 seq.

9 σιππασδὲς: the form is not easily explicable, but I take it to be a noun in -δὲς from σιππειὼν (σιππειῶν), meaning a seller or maker of tow; see L. R. Palmer, op. cit. 49 seq. for many new words of this sort and cf. *σγωνῶς* in PSI 780 5. Perhaps the scribe wrote the singular first, for the plural wrote δ instead of τ, as often (Mayer 1 175), and forgot to erase the superfluous c. For a procedure apparently of the same sort cf. *TAPA* xci (1960), p. 139 (P. Cornell Inv. no. i, 81 l. 24), where *αγραμματαῶν* = *ἀγραμμάτων*, i.e. *ἀγραμματα* was corrected without erasing the mistaken letter.

11 μηνιάρχη: this officer is known only in Oxyrhynchite guilds, see San Nicolò, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen* ii 55, 53 3, 84 6, 1139 2.

## 2580. ACCOUNT OF PITCH

9 × 33.5 cm.

Earlier third century

These crudely written accounts stand on the verso of a long, narrow strip of papyrus, leaving the lower half of it blank. They deal with a single transaction, the purchase and shipment of 100 talents of pitch. Pitch often figures in accounts: it had many uses, for example in pottery (1754; 2570 ii; BGU 884; PSI 441), as a medicine (P. Grenf. i 52; PSI 487), and for waterproofing (Pliny *N.H.* 16, 11, 21; PSI 437). The price here quoted (2-3 n.) suggests a date before c. 250, and the hand points to a date after c. 200.

The recto contains a single column of twenty lines, written in elegant second-century cursive; the beginnings of the lines disappeared when the parent roll was cut up and reused. The text presents a list of house-property and vacant lots. Each entry is followed by a figure in drachmae (1, 6, 12, 16, 50, 67 dr.); in most cases there are also προ(δια)γραφόμενα of one-sixteenth, calculated on a six-obol drachma. Clearly we have to do with taxation, and taxation on real estate. This points to the ἐγκύκλιον. Most of the sums mentioned fit such a supposition: i.e. they could represent 10 per cent. of a purchase price (Wallace, *Taxation* 227 seqq.)—compare the prices listed by Johnson, *Economic Survey* ii 257 seqq.

τεμιγῆς πίσεως [(ταλ.).] 'βώλ(ων) ξᾶ' (ταλ.) ρ  
 μινῶν ἢ ὡς τοῦ (ταλ.) α  
 (δρ.) δᾶ, (ταλ.) α (δρ.) Ἄρ· ἀφ' ὧν κου-  
 φίζονται τοῦ σταθμοῦ  
 5 ἐνδέοντ(ος) ὡς τοῦ (ταλ.) α  
 μινᾶς Ld, γίνονται τῶν  
 ταλάντων β̄ μναῖ ᾠδ̄  
 (δρ.) πῆ. λο(ιπὸν) τεμιγῆς [(δρ.)] (ταλ.) α (δρ.) Ἀβ̄.  
 ἐργάτ(αις) ἰστώσει πῆν πίσε(αν) (δρ.) ἦ  
 10 μεταφέρουσι ἰς τὸ πλοῖον  
 ὡς τοῦ βώλ(ου) [—] βώλ(ων) [[ξ̄.]  
 ξᾶ (δρ.) ιζ̄ —  
 φόρου ζυγ(οστασίας) καὶ σταθ(μοῦ) (δρ.) β̄  
 φόρου ζυγ(οστασίας) ἀγορανόμ(ου) ἀντὶ συν-  
 15 κρίσεως σταθ(μοῦ) —  
 ωρακίων καὶ θύρας F

'Cost of pitch: 61 lumps, i.e. 100 tal. 8 minae, at 71 dr. per talent: 1 tal. 1,100 dr. From this is deducted—since the standard lacks  $\frac{3}{4}$  mina per talent, in all 94 minae on 100 tal.—88 dr. Remaining cost, 1 tal. 1,012 dr. To the workmen for weighing the pitch, 8 dr.; for transporting it to the boat, 61 lumps at 2 ob. per lump, 17 dr. 1 ob. Payment for weighing and standard, 2 dr. Payment for weighing, to the agoranomos, in return for comparison of the standard, 1 ob. Baskets and door (?), 5 ob.'

2-3 Prices were much higher in the middle and late 3rd cent.: a talent of dry pitch cost 240 dr. in A.D. 255 (BGU 14 iv 6); a talent of pitch cost 3,400 dr. in A.D. 279 (P. Oxy. 1497 6 seq.). See Johnson, *Economic Survey* ii 473 seq.

7 ᾠδ̄ is a mistake for οε: the total deficit must have been  $100 \times \frac{3}{4} = 75$  minae, and the total rebate  $75 \times \frac{7}{6} = 88\frac{3}{4}$  drachmae. The writer reached the correct answer in line 8, despite his mistake—of course, he knew already how much rebate he had claimed; the process of calculation is just a formality.

11-12 After ὡς τοῦ βώλ(ου) the papyrus has a single horizontal stroke (1 obol) above a small lacuna. The arithmetic requires us to restore a second stroke (2 obols). Even so, the total in l. 12 is only approximate: assuming a 7-obol drachma (which gives the closest result), the carriage-charge works out at 17 dr. 3 ob. The writer has omitted the haggling and approximations which stand between the agreed rate and the sum actually disbursed.

16 ωρακίων: the diminutive (not in the WB or LSJ) was already conjectured for IG2<sup>2</sup> 1488, 7. This line may well refer to the same transaction at 1-15: compare BGU 14 iv 9 and 12, where pitch is bought εἰς πικροκόπιαν . . . σωρ[άκω]ν.

## 2581. LIST OF BUILDINGS AND MATERIALS

13 × 22 cm.

Third century

This piece of an account was cut from a larger sheet or a roll to take the letter which appears on the verso (2600). The foot is intact, the straight edges at the sides each pass through a column so that there are only ends of lines from the first column and beginnings from the second. It is damaged at the top.

It gives a list of buildings together with amounts of building materials used or to be used upon them. No amounts of money appear.

The occurrence of a 'great praetorium' and probably a gymnasium shows that the place was an important one. The mention of a temple or shrine of Apis suggests that it was Memphis, for which alone an *Ἀπείων* is actually attested (BGU 347 i 5, ii 3; OGIS 90 33), but Wilcken thought there was an *aedicula* of Apis in Alexandria (UPZ i, p. 93) and there may even be a trace of Apis worship in Oxyrhynchus (E. G. Turner, *Recherches de Papyrologie* ii, p. 120, 1029 17).

Col. i		Col. ii
	]...[.....][	
	] [.....][	]θυρ[
	]πλινθ[.....][	]θυρα[
	] [.....][	]εξέδρ[
5	].....[.....][	[
	] ..[	5
	]π[υ]λώνος[	5
	]... πήχ(εις) στερ(εοί)[	5
	].. πήχ(εις) στερ(εοί) [	5
10	] ..[	5
	]..τ[.....]ων' β' καί	10
	]κ' πήχ(εις) στερ(εοί) ρκς'	10
	].. πήχ(εις) στερ(εοί) [.....]	10
	]πήχ(εις) στερεοί[	10
15	]τῆ στοᾶ .πιθε. ( ) [	15
	] ..δ'	15
	5]τρογγυλαιον	15
	]..ποδ( ' )	15
	]ύποσπειρ( )	15
20	5]τερεοί ρ.βγ''	15
	]αυτα	20
	] ..	20
	]νου το .του	20
	]..κοσαπο. συν	20
25	]εμρ( )	25
	]πήχ(εις) στερεοί ρλ'	25
	].....[.....[.....]	25
	] ..λ.'	25
	τρογγυλαιον	25
30	].. δευτέρ[α]ς στέγης	25
	] ..	25

Col. ii 5 seqq. cubic (cubits?) ..... gymnasium...ovens for gypsum...ovens for plaster... carpenter's glue... iron, by weight... Pillars for the double stoa... of 11 cubits with ..... pillars... bases and drums... wagon (stones)... small portable (stones)... stones for the Apideion gateway... other small wagon (stones)... keystone (?) for the main gateway... big portable

stones . . . . . from Akoris or Alabastr . . . For the great praetorium . . . baked brick for three stories . . . unbaked brick . . . beams of eight cubits . . .

Col. i 17 The articulation *τρογγύλαιον* is possible both here and in l. 29, but it seems more likely that it is part of a new adjective *τρογγυλάτος* (= *τρογγύλος*); cf. ii. 20 *φορτιαός*.

Col. ii 4 The top—horizontal—fibres are lost.  
7 seq. cf. Reil, *Beiträge*, p. 34; A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, pp. 76–79.

14 LS] gives only neuter forms *ύπόσπειρον, κῶλον*.

17 I. *Απιδείον* = *Απείον*. Cf. τὸ Παρμενίωνος καλούμενον *Σαραπιδείον* (*PRIMI* 18 vi 3 seq.), which is apparently the same as the *Παρμενίικου Σαραπέιον*, Calderini, *Dis. Geog.* p. 136, cf. *Ἄνουβιδείον* (Calderini, op. cit. p. 92), *Ἀκαρτιδείον* (*UPZ* 7, 10), *Ἰειδείον* (*WB*), *Σαραπιδείον* (*SB* 9065, 15). Perhaps not 'the gateway to the Apideion' but 'the Apideion gateway' contrasted with 'the main gateway', l. 19. The Apideion, of course, would have to be quite close, in the same building or opposite.

19 κεφ[ : ? κεφαλῆς capital, keystone. π. ἡγουμένου without, as it seems, further description, perhaps implies that ii, 1–22 concern the same building, either the gymnasium of l. 6 or a larger complex containing a gymnasium. The opening of a new section at l. 23 may be taken to confirm this.

22 There were quarries at these places in the Hermopolite nome. It is uncertain whether the second should be restored *Ἀλαβ[άκρων πόλεως* or *Ἀλαβ[ακρινῆς*, and whether these names indicate one place or two, v. J. Vergote, *Studi Calderini e Paribeni* ii 389.

23 For the functions of a *praetorium* v. Mommsen, *Hermes* xxxv 437 seqq. There would certainly have been one in Memphis, where the conventus was held regularly (cf. Reinmuth, *The Prefect* 79, 100 seqq., Wilcken, *Archiv* iv 366–422). Leaving aside the conventus cities, there were *praetoria* in Antinoopolis (*Arch.* iv 116 i 13, A.D. 258), Arsinoe (P. Zilliacus 8, 23, 6th cent.), Koptos (P. Gothenbourg 7, 7, 4th cent.), and perhaps in Oxyrhynchus (2127 10, late 2nd cent.).

## PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

## 2582. SALE OF SLAVE

24.6 × 10 cm.

31 January, A.D. 49

Little more than the prescript of this deed survives—the top strip from what must have been a very handsome document (the margins are of 4 to 4.5 cm., the hand is a splendidly rapid and professional cursive). The sale was transacted at Euergetis above Memphis, and the seller himself comes from Taamechis in the Heracleopolites; no doubt it was the buyer, Pasion, who took this copy home to Oxyrhynchus.

ἔτους ἑνδεκάτου Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου καίσαρος σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ αυτοκράτορος  
Μεχειρ

ἕκτη σεβαστῆ ἐν Εὐεργετίδ(ι) τῆ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν ἐπ' ἀγορανόμου Ἀρβεῦς ἐπρίατο  
Πασιῶν Ἀρθώνιος

τῶν ἀπὸ Ὁξύρυγχων πόλεως τῆς Θηβαίδος ὡς (ἐτῶν) νβ μέσο(ς) μελίχ(ρω)ς φ οὐ(λί)  
καρπῶ ἀριστερῶ παρὰ

Μητροφάνους Ἡράτος τῶν ἀπὸ κάμης Τααμήχεως τοῦ Κωίτου τοῦ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν

5 Ἡρακλεοπολείτου ὡς (ἐτῶν) νη μέσο(ν) μελίχ(ρου) φ οὐ(λί) πῆχι ἀριστερῶ(ρῶ) ἐν  
ἀγυῖ Εὐόρμω ἦν ἔφη ὁ Μητρο-  
φάνης ὑπάρχειν αὐτῶ οἰκογένην δούλην ἢ ὄνομα Δημητρ[ο]ῦν ὡς (ἐτῶν) κε μέση(ν)  
μελίχ(ρουν)

2 ευεργετῆ 3, 5 μεσ<sup>α</sup>μελιχ<sup>ρ</sup>φ

'Eleventh year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, sixth of Mecheir, *dies augusta*: at Euergetis above Memphis, before Harbes as agoranomos. Pasion son of Harthonis, from the city of Oxyrhynchus in the Thebaid, age about 52 years, middle height, honey-coloured, long-faced (?), a scar on the left wrist, bought from Metrophanes son of Heras, from the village of Taamechis in the Coite toparchy of the Heracleopolite nome above Memphis, age about 58 years, middle height, honey-coloured, long-faced (?), a scar on the left forearm, in the street of the good anchorage (?), a home-bred female slave whom Metrophanes stated to be his property, her name Demetrous, age about 25 years, middle height, honey-coloured. . . .'

2 σεβαστῆ: Mecheir 6 is not recorded in Snyder's list of *dies augustae* (*Aeg.* 18 (1938), pp. 197 seqq.). Hathyr 6 was so celebrated in A.D. 40, Epagomenai 6 in 79 and 91/107, Phaophi 6 in 159. See now *Aeg.* 44 (1964), p. 160.

Εὐεργετίδ(ι): this town was the seat of an agoranomos, that is, capital of its nome or at least of its toparchy (Mitteis, *Gz.* 58); and it was south of Memphis. Notice the nome-capital Euergetis in 1025 (*W. Chr.* 493),<sup>1</sup> and the Heracleopolite<sup>2</sup> Euergetis in 814. Was Euergetis another name for Heracleopolis Magna?

<sup>1</sup> A festival of Kronos is likely enough in the Heracleopolites, cf. Holm, *Griech.-Ägypt. Namenstudien* 80.

<sup>2</sup> If the other village mentioned (Thelbo) is a guide: P. Hib. 218, 52, n.

3, 5 φ: a tall rho, the head level with the suprascript χ which precedes it, the tail bisected by a horizontal which joins the ο of ε. This rho clearly does not belong to μελίχρ(ω)ς, for the double-letter suspension and the cross-stroke would both be abnormal; and in fact μελι<sup>χ</sup> alone appears at the end of l. 6. φ normally represents πρ or χρ: here I can think of nothing more plausible than (μακρο-)πρ(όσωτος), the word which commonly occurs at this point in the formula (*Studi della Scuola Papyrologica* iv ii 29). Some early Roman documents have the form μα(κρο)πρ(όσωτος) (254; 256; P. Ryl. 156; 159), but there is no sign of the first two letters in 2582.

4 Τααμήχεως: I have not found the name of this village elsewhere. The Coite toparchy is well attested for both Ptolemaic and Roman times (P. Hib. i-ii, BGU viii, *Chronique d'Égypte* xxiii (1948), pp. 149 seq.; BGU iii 958 (a) note, *SPP* xx 32. 8).

5 εὐόρμω: the adjective (itself rare and poetical) raises obvious difficulties: (1) elsewhere the formulaic ἐν ἀγυῖ has no qualification; (2) street-names normally follow a much more concrete pattern—gods or persons, trades, or nationalities. But I have failed to find another reading (the ink is quite clear).

## 2583. DIVISION OF INHERITED PROPERTY

14.3 × 18.6 cm.

Second century

Diophantus and Horion divide up the estate of Heraclius. The estate consists in assets (5–10) and liabilities (12–17): as assets, movables and grains and donkeys; as liabilities, money owed on mortgage and in arrears of taxation. Horion takes half the assets, and pays over to Diophantus his share of the liabilities. A further arrangement was made (22 seqq.) for the division of a leased farm, but the details remain obscure. For similar documents, cf. 1278 and 1637–8; Calderini gives a list of *diabaseis* in *Studi . . . Arangio-Ruiz* iii 277.

The text is written on the recto, parallel with the fibres, in a normal second-century cursive.

[ὄμ]ολογοῦσιν ἀλλήλο[ι]ς Διοφάντος Ἡρακλείου  
 [τοῦ Διο]φάντου καὶ Ὠρίων θέσει τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλείου  
 [ἀμφοτέ]ροι ἀπὸ Ὀξυρύνχων πόλεως διειρηθεῖαι  
 5 πρ[ὸ]ς ἑαυτοὺς τὰ ἀπολιθθέντα αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἔου  
 ὑπ[ὸ] τ[οῦ] Ἡρακλείου ἐπιπλα καὶ κεύη καὶ ἐνδομ-  
 νεῖαν καὶ πυρὸν καὶ ἕτερα ὄσπρεα καὶ οὖς ἔχου-  
 ςι ὁμοίως ἐξ ἔου ὄνους δύο, καὶ ἑκάτερον  
 αὐτῶν παρεληφθέντα αὐτόθι εἰς τὸ ἴδιον συν-  
 10 πεπ[.]... μένον ἄ καὶ (κε)κλήρωται εἰς τὸ κατ' αὐ-  
 τοῦ[ς] ἡ[μ]ῶν μέρος ἀπὸ τῶν δύο ὄνων ὄνον ἐνά-  
 κ[α]ῖ [μῆ] ἐνκαλεῖν ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν τῷ ἐτέ-  
 ρῳ περὶ τ[οῦ]των, ὃ δὲ Διοφάντος μῆδὲ περὶ τῆς  
 γεναμένης εἰς κοινὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου  
 15 γεώργια προχρήσεως πάσης καὶ ἣς εἶχεν  
 ὃ Ἡράκλειος κοινῆς λοιπογραφίας διὰ τὸ ἀπε-  
 χ[η]κέναι αὐτὸν παρὰ τοῦ Ὠρίωνος τὸ ἐπίβαλ-  
 [λου] αὐτῷ μέρος, ἀμφοτέροι δὲ μῆδὲ περὶ  
 [εἰ]τέρου τ[ῆ]ν[δ]ε γραπτῶν ἢ ἀγράφου πράγματος  
 [ῆ]...ου τῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἢ τὸν Ἡράκλειον  
 20 [...].οντων ἐκ τῶν ἐπάνω χρόνων μέχρι  
 [τῆς ἐνε]στῶσης ἡμέρας π[α]ρευρέσει μῆδεμιᾶ.  
 [...].πος ἐν [τῇ] χορτοθήκῃ καὶ ἡ γεωργία  
 [...].πρ... τῆς μεθώσεως χρόνου οὐ  
 25 [ἐμ]εθώ[σα]το ὃ Ἡράκλειος περὶ Σχοῖβιν κλήρου  
 [ἀ]κολούθως τῇ μεθώσει ἐστι τοῦ μὲν Διοφάντου  
 [...]. ἡ[μ]ῶν τέταρτον [μ]έρους τοῦ δὲ Ὠρίωνο[ς]  
 [...].ροσμενοντων  
 [...]..]

3 l. διηρῆσθαι 9 Perhaps -πεπ[ε]μένον Perhaps ἄ καικλήρωται, l. κεκλ- 15 δ: o corr from η?  
 19 καθ[ὸ]λου not suggested 20 ἀνη]κοιτων too short 22 Perhaps ]..ε 25 δ: corr. from η.  
 Σχοῖβιν: χ is a correction 28 Perhaps ]ν τέτρι[στον] μέρος

Diophantus, son of Heraclius and grandson of Diophantus, and Horion, adopted son of the same Heraclius, both from the city of Oxyrhynchus, acknowledge to one another that they have divided between themselves what was left to them on equal shares by Heraclius, implements and utensils and furniture and wheat and other grains and the two donkeys which they hold likewise on equal shares; and that each of them has taken into his own possession at once . . . what has fallen by lot to their

own half-share, one donkey out of the two donkeys; and that neither of them makes any charge against the other in this matter, nor does Diophantus either about the entire advance-loan on farm-land held in common by himself and Heraclius or about the common arrears belonging to Heraclius, because he has received from Horion the share which falls to him, nor do either of them about any other matter written or unwritten in respect of themselves or Heraclius from former times up to the present day, on any pretext at all. . . . all the sheep and the hay collected in the hay-barn and the farm . . . the period of the lease of the plot which Heraclius leased at Schoibis . . . in accordance with the lease. . . .

10 Something seems to have fallen out after μέρος. As the clause stands, it implies that the parties have *not* taken possession of their shares in the movables and grains (contrast the plural δ in 9).

25 Σχοῖβιν is the most likely reading, but I cannot parallel it as a place-name.

## 2584. LEASE OF LAND

17 × 17 cm.

A.D. 211

This is a contract for a five-year lease of arable land and at the same time a receipt for the whole rent paid in advance. In the text it is called a *μεθασοχή* (Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, pp. 13 seqq., 234 seqq.; Waszynski, *Bodenpacht*, pp. 24 seqq., 107 seq.) and this is apparently the earliest use of the term. Parallel documents known to me are 2284 (258), BGU 409 (313), P. Harris 82 (345), CPR 247 (346), P. Gen. 67, 69, 70 (382, 386, ? 381), P. Gron. 9 (392).<sup>1</sup> P. Gen. 66 (374) and P. Cair. Isid. 98 (291/2) are similar but do not contain the word *μεθασοχή*, which is also used in passing in BGU 944 (4th/5th cent.). Some documents containing the words ἐκ *προδόματος* or described as *προδοματικαὶ μεθώσεις* (Herrmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 229 seqq.) appear to concern essentially similar transactions, but the *πρόδομα* is often only a part payment.

Subjoined to the contract is a petition by which the woman lessor asked the exegetes to appoint a guardian for her.

On the verso is a single line of writing: *μ[ε]θασοχή (ἀρουρῶν) 5 διὰ τραπεζῆς* . . . . . θ. ιε. . . . . In the left margin there are several letters and signs which I am unable to read.

<sup>1</sup> Add now P. Lugd. Batav. XIII, no. 17 (3rd cent.).

Πατκοῦ[ς] ἡ καὶ Σαραποῦς Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀρποκρα[τ]ίων[ος c. 13]... [c. 5]. [ῤύγχων πόλεως μετὰ κυρίου [ο]ῦ [ἡ]ρη]μαι κα... [.....]... εσοτῆδ[...]

τοῦ τοῦ ῤομοῦ στρατηγοῦ ὑπὸ Ἀπολλωνίου ἑνά[ρχο]υ ἐξηγητ[οῦ] βουλ[ευτοῦ] τῆς αὐτῆς πόλ[εω]ς

5 ας κατὰ τὴν ὑποσταγμένην αἴτησιν Διονυσίου [.....] τιμωρος μητρὸς Ἀρεξ-  
 10 ας ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως Θέωνι τῷ καὶ Ἀμμωνίω [.....] γνος γυμνασιάρχῃς [αν-  
 τι βουλευτῆ] τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως διὰ Ἡρακλεῖδου γραμματέως χαίρειν· ὁμο-  
 λογῶ κατὰ π[ρ]ορφεώνησιν Βειθαρίωνος τοῦ καὶ Δημητρίου καὶ Πτολεμαίου  
 ἀσχολουμέ[ν]ων ὡνὴν τῆς ἐν τῇ Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει κολλυβιστικῆς  
 δραπέτης μεμικθικῆαι σοι εἰς ἕτη πέντε ἀπὸ τ[ο]ῦ εἰσιόντος εἰκοστού  
 15 ἔτους τὰς ὑπαρχούσας μοι περὶ ζενηβαῦ ἀρουράς ἐξ ἀπὸ κοινωνικῶν  
 πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν μου Πρόκλον ἀρουρῶν δώδεκα ὥστε [πειρα]ί[δα]ι καὶ  
 ξυλαμῆσαι οἷς ἐὰν αἰρῆ χωρὶς εἰσάττωσ καὶ [[ε]] ὄχομεν[ί]ου φόρο[υ] ἀπστακ[το]υ  
 κ[α-

20 τῷ ἔτος ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν διακοσίων, τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τῆς ὅλης πεντα-  
 ετίας ἀργυρίου δραχμῶς χε[ιλί]ας αὐτοτι ἀπεσχηκῆαι με παρά σου δι[ε]ῖ  
 15 τῶν αὐτῶν ἀσχολουμένων τὴν τραπαιζαν ἐκ πλῆ[ρο]υς τῶν τ[ῆ]ς γῆς κα-  
 τῷ ἔτος δημοσίων ὄντων πρὸς σε τὸν Θεῶνα τὸν καὶ Ἀμμωνίων· ἐὰν δέ τι  
 ἄβροχος γένηται παραδε[ξ]χθ' ἢ ἐ[τ]αί σοι τοῖς ἕξ ἔτεσι ἐν νελοβρόχῳ καὶ ἐ-  
 πάναγκον βεβαιώω σοι τ[ῆ]ν μισθοσποχὴν ἐπὶ τὸν πενταετῆ χρόνον  
 [π]ά[ρ]η βεβαιώωσι ἢ ἐκτίω σοι ὃ ἔσχοι ἀργύριον διπλ[ο]ῦν τῆς πράξεώς σοι οὐση(ς)  
 20 παρὰ τὰς ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μοι πάντων, ἐξ ὀργίας σοι οὐσης ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ νῦν ὁπότεν αἰρῆ διὰ σεαυτοῦ παραθέσθαι διὰ τοῦ τῶν ἐγκτήσεων βιβλιο-  
 φυλακ[ί]ου τὸ δίκαι[ο]ν τῆδε τῆς μισθοσποχῆς ἣτις ἐστίν κυρία· (ἔτους) ιθ' Ἀυτο-

καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἀυρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου [[καὶ Πουβλίου Σεπτιμίου Γέτα]] Βρετ-  
 ταμικ[οῦ]

Μεγίστου Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ, Παχῶν . . . ἐπι δὲ τῆς αἰτήσεως τῇ ἀντι[γ]ρ[α]φῶν·  
 25 Ἀπὸ [λλ]ωνίω ἱερὶ ἐνάρχῳ ἐξηγητῇ βουλευτῇ τῆς Ὀξυρυγχειῶν πόλ[εω]ς  
 π[α]ρ[α] Π[α]τκοῦ τῆς καὶ Σαραπ[ο]ῦτος Διονυσίου μητρὸς . . . ῤρε φ . . .  
 ἐπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλ[εω]ς· βο[υ]λο[μ]ένῃ μισθοσποχ[ί]ου ἡθῆσαι Θεῶνι τῷ  
 καὶ Ἀμμωνίω γυμνασιάρχ[ῃ]σαντι βουλευτῇ τῆς [α]ὐτῆς πόλ[εω]ς ὡν  
 ἔχω περὶ ζενηβαῦ τοῦ αὐτοῦ [Ὀξ]υρυγχειτοῦ νομοῦ ἀρουρῶν ἐξ οὐξῶν  
 30 ἀπὸ ἀρουρῶν δώδεκα κοιν[ω]μικῶν πρὸς τὸν ὁμογενεῖόν μου [ο]ῦ ἀ-  
 δελφόν Πρόκλον ἐπὶ π[εν]τ[α]ετ[ῆ] χ[ι]ρ[ο]ν ἀπὸ τ[ο]ῦ εἰσιόντος εἰκοστού  
 [ἔ]τους [.....] ὡν εἰς ὅλην [τὴν] πενταετῆσαν ἀ[ργ]υρίου δραχμῶν χε[ιλί]ας  
 [ων  
 ].....[.....].

9 . . . τραπεζίης 11 l. τε 12 l. ἰσάττωσ 14 l. αὐτόθι 15 l. πρῆξων 19 οὐσῆ Pap.  
 25 l. ἱερεῖ

'Patkous also called Sarapous, daughter of Dionysius, son of Harpocraton and of . . . of the city of the Oxyrhynchis, with her guardian Dionysius son of . . . ion and of Areia from the same city, whom I chose . . . (of) the strategus of the nome by Apollonius . . . exegetes in office, senator of the same city, in accordance with the annexed petition, to Theon also called Ammonius, son of . . . , ex-gymnasiarch, senator of the same city, through Heraclides, secretary. I declare, in accordance with a report of Beitharion, also called Demetrianus, and Ptolemaeus, who manage the contract of the exchange-bank in the city of the Oxyrhynchis, that I have leased to you for five years from the incoming twentieth year six arourae belonging to me at Senepsau from the twelve (that I hold) in common with my brother Proclus, to sow and plant with what you choose except woad and coriander, at a fixed rent per year of two hundred drachmae of silver, and that I have received from you on the spot in full through the said managers of the bank the total of one thousand drachmae of silver for the whole five-year term, the public taxes on the land each year being the concern of you Theon called Ammonius. And if any (of the land) remains unwatered an allowance will be made to you for the following years in land watered by the Nile and I shall necessarily confirm the rent-receipt for you for the five-year term with every confirmation or I shall pay you double the money that I had; and you shall have rights of exaction over me and all that belongs to me, and the power from now on whenever you may wish to register, by yourself, through the property register office, the rights of this rent-receipt, which is valid. The nineteenth year of the emperor[s] Marcus Aurelius Antoninus [and Publius Septimius Geta] Britannicus Maximus Pius Augustus. Pachon . . . th.

'And here is a copy of the petition:  
 'To Apollonius, priest, exegetes in office, senator of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Patkous also called Sarapous, daughter of Dionysius, and of T . . . of the city of the Oxyrhynchis. I wish to conclude with Theon also called Ammonius, ex-gymnasiarch, senator of the same city, a rent-agreement and receipt for six arourae at Senepsau in the Oxyrhynchite nome out of the twelve which I hold in common with my full brother Proclus, for a five-year term from the incoming twentieth year . . . a rent of one thousand drachmae for the whole five-year term . . .'

1 Patkous: not in Preis. NB, but cf. Πατκοῦ, Πακῆς, Πακῶς; here Παρσοῦς (cf. Παρσεῦς, Παρσεῖς) could be read, but in l. 26 the traces seem to demand κ or ιε.

2 It is not clear whether we have here an explanation of why the tutor was necessary, or of why the exegetes was applied to. For the latter cf. 56 12 seqq., where the exegetes is approached because the deputy strategus and royal scribe is away from the city, but the exegetes often appointed guardians, v. P. Tebt. 397, 4 n., Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>2</sup>, p. 173, n. 14.

4 Ἰτιανος: it seems possible that the guardian is her father, Dionysius, son of Harpocraton, but the space looks too small for the restoration of eight letters, and cf. P. Tebt. 397 25 seqq., which may imply that if the applicant had had a father, no official designation of a guardian would have been necessary.

7 Beitharion also called Demetrianus appears in 1552 (A.D. 214/15), where he is an ἀμφοδογραμματοεὐς, and in 1696 (A.D. 197).

Ptolemaeus: cf. perhaps PSI iv 295, 10.  
 8 ἀσχολουμένων ὡνὴν: cf. 513 37 n., 1132 8 n.

16 τι οἱ π[ρ]ο γῆ: both appear in this formula (Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, p. 161).  
 18 μισθοσποχῆς (also in l. 22, 27): the usual form is μισθοσποχῆ; μισθοσποχῆ occurs in P. Harris 82, 3, 32.

23 Geta's name is struck through, and the titles in the next line have been altered to the singular form, v. P. Mertens, 'La *Damnatio memoriae* de Geta dans les papyrus', in *Hommages à Léon Herrmann*, pp. 541-52.

26 . . . ῤρε φ . . . : perhaps Ταρρεφ- or Ταυρεφ-, neither in Preis. NB. The first letter appears to be τ, but it has a ligature from the top of the vertical to the following letter, which is unusual.



## 2585. LEASE OF FALLOW LAND

14 × 22.7 cm.

October/November, A.D. 315

This is a conventional *epidoche*: on the form see J. Herrmann, *Studien z. Bodenrecht* 25 seqq. Aurelius Leonidas, who here leases fallow land in the *περίχωμα Πέκτου*, appears again in 103 (A.D. 316) and PSI 469 (A.D. 334), where he leases land in the neighbouring *περίχωμα Νέελα* (cf. PSI 187, 8 seqq.); in all three leases the land is to be sown with flax. The rent per aroura here stipulated shows a sharp increase on 102, a similar contract of A.D. 306: 4 tal. against 1 tal. 3,500 dr. Naturally short-term leases were the rule at this time.

The other Oxyrhynchite leases are listed by Herrmann and in the introduction to 2351.

ἡπατείας τῶν δεσπ[οτ]ῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου  
καὶ Δικιννίου σεβ[α]στῶν τ[ὸ] δ' δ''

Ἀνθρήλιω Διοσκουρίδου τῷ καὶ Ἰουλιανῷ γυμ[να]σί[σ]χου-  
τι πρυτανεύσαντι βου[λευ]τῆ τῆς λαμ[πρά]ς καὶ λα[μ]προτάτης]] Ὁξυρυχιδῶν  
πό[λι]σεως

- 5 παρὰ Ἀνθρήλιου Λεονίδου Θέωνος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.  
ἐκούσιως ἐπιδέχομαι μισθώσασθαι πρὸς μισθῶν τὸ ἐ-  
νεστέδ' ἡ' καὶ ἡ'' ἔτος ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐν περι-  
χώματι Πέκτου ἐδάφους Καραβίου λεγομένην ἀπὸ νε-  
τίνων ἀρουρῶν δέκα ἐκ τοῦ ἀπὸ λιβὸς ἐπὶ [...] οσι μέρεσ-  
10 τιν τὰς ἀπὸ ἀναπαύσεως ἀρούρας δύο ἡμίμοι [ἐ]κ γεωμετρί-  
ας ἡ δασ εἴν δει σει σπορὰν νιλοκαλάμης φόρον ἐκά-  
στης ἀρούρης ἀνὰ ἀργυρίου ταλάντων τεσάρων ἀκίνδου-  
να πάν[τα] παντὸς κινδύ[ν]ου τῶν τῆς γῆ[ς] δημοσί-  
ων ἐν[τ]ων πρὸς σὲ τὸν γεοῦχον κυριεύων[τα] τῶν καρ-  
15 πῶν ἕως τὰ ὀφιλόμενα ἀπολαβῆς. βεβ[ε]βουμένης  
δέ μοι τῆς ἐπιδόχης ἐπάναγκες ἀποδώ[σ]ω τὸν ἀργυ-  
ρικὸν φόρον Παῦνι καὶ Ἐφίπ[π] μισθῶν [τοῦ] αὐτοῦ [ἔτ]ους  
ἀνυπερθέτως γνομμένης σοι τῆς π[ρά]ξεως παρ[ά]  
τῆ ἐμ[οῦ] ὠ[σ]τ[ὸ] καθήκη. κυρία ἡ ἐπιδόχη κ[αὶ] ἐ[πε]ρωτηθ[ῆ]κε  
20 ὠμολόγησα.

(ἔτους) ἡ' καὶ ἡ'' τῶν αὐτῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν [Κωνσ]ταντίνου  
καὶ Δικιννίου σεβαστῶν Ἀθ[η]ν[ῶ]ν ]'

(2nd hd.) Ἀνθρήλιω Διοσκουρίδης ὁ καὶ Ἰουλιανῶς

δι' ἐμοῦ Μωριανῶς βρηθ[οῦ] ἐ[χ]ο[ν] τ[ο]ν[τ]ο[ν]

- 25 τὸ ἔον.

1 ἡπατεας 3 Ἰουλιανῷ 1 Διοσκουρίδῃ, Ἰουλιανῶ 3-4 1 -αρχόντι 4 βου 6 1 ἐπι-  
δέχομαι 7 ὑπαρχόντων 8-9 1 νοτίνων 10 1 ἡμίμοι, γεωμετρί- 11 1 δει αν, εις σπορὰν  
λινοκαλάμης 15 1 βεβαιομένης 17 1 Ἐπίφ 18 ἀνυπερθέτως 20 second ο οὐ ὠμολόγησα  
is a correction 24 1 Μωριανῶ 25 ἔον

' In the 4th consulship of our masters Constantinus and Licinius Augusti. To Aurelius Dioscorides also called Julianus, gymnasiarch and former prytanis and senator of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, from Aurelius Leonidas, son of Theon, of the same city. Of my own free will I undertake to lease, for the present 8th and 10th year only, out of your possessions at the Embankment of Pekty, in the so-called ground of Karabus, fallow land measuring two and a half arourae according to the survey, or however many arourae there are, being part of the ten southern arourae on the west . . . with a view to the sowing of flax, at a rent of four talents of silver for each aroura, the whole amount being guaranteed against risk of any kind; and the public dues of the land rest on you, the landowner, and you remain owner of the produce until you receive your due. If the undertaking is confirmed to me, I shall of necessity pay over the money rent in the months Pauni and Epiph of the same year, without delay; and you have the right of execution on me as is proper. The undertaking is valid; and, in answer to the question, I have made acknowledgement. Year 10 and 8 of our lords the same Constantinus and Licinius Augusti, Hathyr . . . (2nd hd.) I, Aurelius Dioscorides also called Julianus, have received a duplicate of this, through me, Morianus the assistant.'

1-2, 21-22 The old and new systems of dating are combined, as in other documents of this transitional period: cf. 102 (A.D. 306); P. Lips. 19 (A.D. 310). See J. Herrmann 41.

9 [...] οσι: Youtie suggests π[ε]λοσι (l. π[ε]λοσι), which fits the traces. ]σοσι cannot be read.

18-19 παρ[ά] τῆ ἐμ[οῦ]: a half-hearted abridgement of παρὰ τῆ ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μοι πάντων (e.g. 2137 35). The superfluous τε recurs in the same phrase at 1689 37 (A.D. 266) and 103 19 (A.D. 316); PSI 880. 31 read παρὰ τῆ τῶν ἰόν for παρὰ αὐτῶν <τῶν>.

19 ὠ[σ]τ[ὸ] καθήκη: on this formula, see J. Herrmann 150.

24 Μωριανῶς: neither Pape nor Preisigke records this name.

## 2586. CONTRACT OF APPRENTICESHIP

8.1 × 34.4 cm.

15 September, A.D. 253

A detailed and well-preserved contract, in which Hermias apprentices his son to Dioscorus the linen-weaver. Almost all its provisions are easily paralleled from the other didaskalikai: see the list and analysis by J. Herrmann, *JJP* xi-xii (1957-8), pp. 119 seqq.

There is, however, one abnormal feature. In ll. 30-34 Hermias receives 400 dr. ἐν προχρεία from Dioscorus, and promises to return them at the end of the apprenticeship. The extant didaskalikai offer no parallel to this arrangement.<sup>1</sup> But something similar is implied in BGU iv 1124. In this document Nilus the nail-smith acknowledges the cancellation of a synchorensis of April/May 18 B.C., under which Heraclides and Taurinus apprenticed Heraclides' son to Nilus and received a loan of 100 dr. With the cancellation Nilus receives back his money, and Heraclides is free to apprentice his son elsewhere. Here, then, as in 2586, a loan was part of the terms of the apprenticeship.

<sup>1</sup> In P. Mich. ii 121 R ii 8 (an obscure summary) the sum which changes hands may represent advance of wages, as, e.g., in P. Tebt. ii 385, P. Tebt. 384 and P. Flor. 44 (cited in 1647 introduction) are not apprenticeship contracts but paramonal.

The master would have security in the apprentice's labour; interest might be met by an adjustment of the apprentice's wages (2586 makes no mention of interest, and the relevant clauses of BGU 1124 are mutilated).<sup>1</sup>

The text is written along the fibres in a minute cursive. What we have will have been the father's copy, since it bears the master's signature—a signature written half by proxy before Dioscorus plucked up courage to exercise his spindly capitals (38 seq.).

ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀ[λλήλοισι] Αὐρή-  
 λιοι Ἐρμίας υἱὸς Πτολ[εμαί]ου ἀγο-  
 ρανομήσαντος τῆς [Ἰ]ξυρ[υ]χαιτῶν  
 πόλεως καὶ Διόσκορος Ἀθ[η]νοδώρου  
 5 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως [Λυό-]  
 υφος ὁ μὲν Ἐρμίας ἐκδεδ[ι]θ[ε]σ[α]ι  
 τῷ ἐπιστάτῃ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱ[ὸν]  
 πρὸς μάθησιν τῆς δηλουμέ-  
 νης τέχνης ἐπὶ χρόνον ἕτη  
 10 πέν[τε] ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος μη[ν]ος Θ[ω]θ  
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ιβ[ε] (ἔτους) [ε]φ' ἃ παρέξεται τὸν  
 παῖδα ὁ πατὴρ τῷ ἐπιστάτῃ καθ' ἐ-  
 κάστην ἡμέραν ἀπὸ ἀνα[τ]ολῆς  
 ἡλίου μέχρι δύσεως τρεφόμε-  
 15 νον καὶ ἱματιζόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 πατρὸς ἐκτελοῦντα πάντα τὰ ἐπιτρα-  
 πησόμενα αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπιστά-  
 του ἀνήκοντα τῇ δηλουμένῃ  
 τέχνῃ καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν μῆνας [ε]ξ διδα-  
 20 χῆς χάριν ἀνε[υ] μισθοῦ ἐπὶ δὲ  
 τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον λαμβάνου-  
 τα ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ  
 ἑξαμῆνῳ ἡμ[ε]ρησίως ὀβολοῦς  
 δύο καὶ ἐπὶ ἕτερον ἑνιαυτὸν ἡ-

25 μερησίως ὀβολοῦς ἕξ καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλ-  
 λον ἑνιαυτὸν ἡμερησίως ὀβο-  
 λοῦς δέκα καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλον ἑνιαυτὸν  
 δραχμὰς δύο καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τελευταί-  
 30 ον ἑνιαυτὸν ἡμερησίως δραχμὰς  
 δύο τετράβολον. ὁμολογεῖ δὲ ὁ αὐ-  
 τὸς Ἐρμίας αὐτῷ ἐσχηκέναι ἐν  
 προχρεία παρὰ τοῦ Διοσκόρου ἀργυ-  
 ρ[ο]υ δραχμὰς τετρακοσίας ἄσπερ  
 ἀπ[ο]δύσει ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ χρόνου.  
 35 ὦ[ν] δ' ἂν ἀργήσῃ ὁ παῖς ἐν τῷ χρό-  
 νῳ ἐν ᾧ μισθὸν λαμβάνει ἢ ὁ μὴ  
 εἴη ἀσθενήσῃ, τούτων τὰς ἴσας  
 παραμενεῖ τῷ ἐπιστάτῃ ἐργαζό-  
 μενος ἀμισθεί. λήμψεται δὲ ὁ παῖς  
 40 εἰς λόγον ἀργῶν ἑορτικῶν Τῦβι  
 Παχῶν Ἀμεσυλοῖς ἡμερῶν  
 ἑπτὰ Σαραπίοις ἡμέρας δύο· εὐδο-  
 κεῖν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ το<ύτο>ις καὶ ἕκαστα  
 ποιήσιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐπιστάτης καὶ ἐπὶ  
 45 τέλει τοῦ χρόνου παραδότην τὸν παῖδα  
 τελείως ἐργαζόμενον τὴν δηλου-  
 μένην τέχνην καθὼς καὶ αὐτὸς  
 ἐπίσταται, οὐκ ἐξόντος οὐδενὶ τῶν  
 ὁμολογούντων παραβαίνειν τὰ  
 50 προγεγραμμένα. κύριον τὸ ὁμολό-  
 γημα καὶ ἐπερωτήσαντες ἀλλήλους  
 ὠμολόγησαν. (ἔτους) ιβ' αὐτοκράτορος  
 Καίσαρος Πουπλίου Λικινίου  
 Γαλλήνου Γερμανικοῦ μεγίστου  
 55 εὐσεβοῦς εὐτυχοῦς σεβαστοῦ  
 Θῶθ ἡ. (2nd hd.) Αὐρήλιος Διόσκωρο<ς>  
 Ἀθηνωδώρου ἑδωκῶ ὡς  
 (3rd hd.) πρόκειται καὶ ἐπερω-  
 τηθὲς ὠμολόγησα.

<sup>1</sup> Lewald (*Personalexekution* 18 seq.) and Taubenschlag (*Opera Minora* ii 271 seq.) take a different view. For them the synchoreisis mentioned in BGU 1124 is a paramone with obligation to teach, the apprenticeship merely accessory to the loan; they compare P. Tebt. 384, P. Flor. 44, BGU 1154. This never was a plausible interpretation. The loan-paramone has a quite different pattern: the loan is acknowledged first, then comes the special arrangement about interest—the borrower or his dependent is to work for the creditor ἀπὸ τῶν τούτων τόκων καὶ τροφῆς κ.τ.λ.; nothing is said about teaching. On the other hand, there seems no reason *a priori* why the advantages of an apprenticeship should not include a loan. And 2586 now shows conclusively that such a clause is not out of place in a didaskalike.

20 -γης: η corrected (from α or αι?)  
59 -τηθις: θ corr. from τ

28 τελευται: αι corr. from ο

57 I. εὐδοκῶ

'Aurelius Hermias, son of Ptolemaeus a former *agoranomus* of the city of Oxyrhynchus, and Aurelius Dioscorus, son of Athenodorus, from the same city, a linen-weaver, acknowledge to one another:

'Hermias, that he has handed over his son to the overseer to learn the said craft for a period of five years from the present month Thoth of the current 12th year; for which period the father shall make the boy available to the overseer each day from sunrise to sunset, the boy being maintained and clothed by his father, carrying out all the instructions pertaining to the said craft which the overseer shall give him, and going without wages for six months in return for tuition, but for the remaining time receiving as wages—in the first six months two obols a day, and for another year, six obols a day, and for another year ten obols a day, and for another year two drachmae, and for the final year 2 drachmae 4 obols a day.

'And the same Hermias acknowledges that he has received on the spot as a loan-in-advance from Dioscorus four hundred drachmae of silver, which he will return at the end of the time.

'And if the boy is idle on any days during the time that he is receiving wages, or (may it not happen) is ill, he shall stay with the overseer for the same number of days, working without wages.

'And the boy shall have, on account of festival holidays, Tybi, Pachon, seven days at the Amesysia, two days at the Serapeia.

'For they agree on these terms; and the overseer aforesaid will carry out all the provisions; and at the end of the time let him hand over the boy a perfect worker in the said craft, just as able as the overseer himself. It is permitted to none of the acknowledging parties to transgress the above-stated terms. The acknowledgement is valid, and we have put the question to one another and made acknowledgement. Year 12 of Emperor Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus Germanicus Maximus Pius Felix Augustus, Thoth 18.

(2nd hd.) I, Aurelius Dioscorus, son of Athenodorus, agree as (3rd hd.) stated above; and, the question being put, I have made acknowledgement.'

5-6 [λωδ]υθoc: this restoration seems far the most likely, though theoretically there are other possibilities (Buck and Petersen, *Reverse Index* 407). For the spelling, required here by the rules of syllable-division, see *Aeg.* xxvi (1946), pp. 16 seq. There survives only one other apprenticeship to this trade: P. Fouad 37 (A.D. 48).<sup>1</sup> None the less, linen was among the most important Egyptian exports: *nam cum (Gallieno) nuntiatum esset Aegyptum descivisse, dixisse fertur 'quid? sine lino Aegyptio esse non possumus!'* (SHA Gall. 6. 4). See P. Giss. I ii, p. 39.

7 ἐπιστάτη: the word occurs five times in this document; all other such contracts use διδάκαλος. Dr. John Rea suggests that the difference is more than one of terminology—the epistates will have been a more important person than those who usually figure in apprentice-contracts.

10 πέντε: a long term, paralleled only in 725 and in P. Mich. 121 R ii 8.

11 [ε]ϕ' ε: as at 1647 16 and BGU iv 1021, 11. [ε]ϕ' ε would be more usual, but the spacing is against it.

14 seqq. No mention is made of taxes or trade-dues (1647, introduction; Herrmann 127 seq.).

19 seqq. Wages increase in steps of 4 obols. The yearly totals are: A.D. 253/4 (six months only), 60 dr.; 254/5, 360 dr.; 255/6, 600 dr.; 256/7, 720 dr.; 257/8, 960 dr. Rising scales appear in other contracts (Herrmann 123), but there are too many unknown to make comparison safe. It may be worth noting the yearly cash payment which at this time Aurelius Apianus was making to his phrontistai Irenaeus and Heroninus—480 dr. (P. Lond. 1226; P. Flor. 321-2; SB 9408-9).

36-37 δ μη εἶρη: I owe the reading to Dr. Rea.

39 seqq. Holidays are specified in three other contracts: P. Fouad 37 (A.D. 48) offers 36 days a year; 725 (183) 20 days; and 1647 (late 2nd cent.) 18 days. The master no doubt kept a record of licensed and unlicensed idleness: such an account seems to have survived in the 'Heidelberg Festival Papyrus' (Youtie, *Studies* . . . A. C. Johnson 201 seqq.).

40 seqq. On the Serapeia, see Bilabel, *Die gräho-ägyptische Feste* 49; on the Amesysia, Bilabel

<sup>1</sup> Cf. P. Ryl. iv 654.

ib. 29 and Eitrem, *Symb. Osl.* xvii 44 seqq. (add P. Iand. 95, 14, SB 9409, no. 7 iii 56). There are difficulties in the interpretation of this clause:

(1) 'Holidays on festivals in Tybi and Pachon, (namely) at the Amesysia and at the Serapeia.' This might mean that there were Amesysia and Serapeia in both Tybi and Pachon; or that Amesysia fell in Tybi and Serapeia in Pachon. Other attested dates for these festivals are inconsistent and unhelpful. *Amesysia*. (a) SB 3462 (A.D. 154/5) Thoth 6 Egyptian = Alexandrian Epeiph 27; (b) P. Flor. ii 131 (A.D. 257, Fayûm) Heroninus is taking thought for the Amesysia about Pauni 12 (cf. SB 9409?); (c) P. Ross.-Georg. ii 41 (2nd cent.) Amesysia is the last festival mentioned before Phaophi 4. A single dating might be deduced from these three sources, but it would certainly not accord with the data of 2586.<sup>1</sup> *Serapeia*. (a) BGU 362 xii 16 (A.D. 215, Fayûm) records a [ε]ϕηϑε Caparelew on Pharmouthi 30;<sup>2</sup> (b) *SPP* xxii 183, 72 and 111 seq. (Ant. Pius, Soknopoiou Nesos) Serapeia begin on Choiak 26 and last for perhaps eight days. These celebrations might spill over into Pachon and Tybi! But there are too many unknowns for a real solution of the difficulty.

(2) 'Holidays consisting of Tybi and Pachon and seven days at the Amesysia and two at the Serapeia.' This is Dr. Rea's suggestion: he points out that the long holiday would be of a piece with the high wages and the unusual standing of both apprentice (grandson of an Agoranomos) and master (*epistates*); *εορτικῶν* would be used loosely, unless indeed it is to be taken separately from *ἀργιῶν*. This view avoids the difficulties of (1), and should probably be preferred.

## 2587. REPAYMENT OF A LOAN

10 × 16 cm.

17 September, A.D. 289

This document is a receipt for partial repayment of a loan. It is interesting that the loan is said to be one of a thousand drachmae 'of Ptolemaic coinage', while the amount repaid is one thousand drachmae 'of new coinage'. This 'Ptolemaic' coinage is probably the same as the *παλαιὸ Πτολεμαϊκὸ νομίσματος* appearing in six other late-third-century documents, see Johnson and West, *Currency*, p. 68 and SB 5151. (The papyrus referred to by Johnson and West as Mitt.P.E.R. iv, p. 146 has since been published in full as P. Vind. Boswinkel 12.) There are four papyri of about the same date which refer to *παλαιὸ (νομίσματος)* (P. Berl. Möller 1 (= SB 7338), P. Grenf. ii 77, P. Ant. 43, 1773) and one referring to (*δραχμὰς*) *π' παλαιὰς* (P. Strassb. 233, 7). It seems probable that these expressions all mean the same thing.

These expressions are generally thought to show a preference for payments in actual old coin caused by the rapid progress of inflation in the late third century. But in this case it is clear that the expression has some conventional meaning since the debt is not repaid in the coin that was originally specified. By way of explanation I suggest that some old coin, which still retained a value as bullion, was adopted as a standard so that no loss would be incurred by a business-man who put his capital into a transaction that covered a period of time. That is, in the case of an interest-free loan, a man could lend current money equivalent to a certain number of 'Ptolemaic'

<sup>1</sup> It is always possible that a given festival occurred three times a year, in the first month of each of the Egyptian seasons, i.e. Thoth, Tybi, and Pachon: cf. P. Petrie iii 134, 4-5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. P. Tebt. 119 iii 23 seqq. Ancient calendars agree on April, and specifically 25 Apr. (Wilcken, *Hermes* xx 475); and *IG* xii 5, 38 attests Serapeia in Artemision for Amorgos in the 1st cent. B.C. (Robert, *RÉG* xlii (1929), pp. 20 seqq.).

drachmae on condition that the debtor repaid the value of the same amount of this coinage at the rate current at the time of the repayment. If the value of the new tetradrachm fell, more of them would have to be paid back at the end of the term.<sup>1</sup>

This would explain satisfactorily why the expressions are used in loan contracts (2587, P. Lond. 1243, P. Vind. Bosw. 12), and in claims for money not likely to be met immediately (P. Berl. Möller 1, P. Grenf. ii 77). In P. Ryl. 165, *SPP* xx 71, and SB 5151 the payments are to be made through banks and therefore may possibly have been subject to delay. In P. Ant. 43 it is not clear whether the transaction is by credit or not. But in 1773, P. Strassb. 233, and *SPP* xx 72 direct payments of 'old' or 'Ptolemaic' coinage seem to be specified and if the coins were used as an exchange standard it follows that the bankers must have been familiar enough with them to have a constantly revised exchange rate for them.

Unfortunately there is still no evidence to show what coinage is meant by the vague term 'Ptolemaic'. Mickwitz's theory (*Geld und Wirtschaft*, pp. 53/54) is that it means 'coins of the Ptolemaic type, i.e. older billon tetradrachms' and he was driven to propound it because he could not believe in the large circulation of Ptolemaic coins which the documents otherwise imply for the late third century. On the theory suggested here of a rarer use of the coins and a more widespread use of the term as a fictional standard, this argument is less cogent, and there have been, in fact, sporadic finds of Ptolemaic coins in hoards of the third century (v. Milne, 'The Currency of Egypt under the Romans', *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, vol. vii, p. 60 and n. 1). Before Mickwitz it was generally believed that it meant actual Ptolemaic coins, but Ptolemaic coins—like the Roman ones—varied greatly in silver content and if the standard really was a matter of bullion we should expect to find that 'Ptolemaic' means something quite precise—some particular issue or group of issues.

If this theory is correct one might have expected the receipt to say how many 'Ptolemaic' drachmae were deemed to have been repaid by 1,000 new drachmae and how many remained to be paid off at a future date and rate. There may perhaps have been a cancellation of the original loan contract and a new note given by the debtor. Or, if records of the exchange rate were kept, the date on the receipt may have been sufficient guarantee.

<sup>1</sup> See now A. Segrè in *Chron. d'Ég.* xl, no. 79 (Jan. 1965) pp. 204 seqq.

Ἀυρήλ[ω]ς Πολυδεύκης Ὀρίωνος  
 Ἀντινοεῖς, φυλῆς Παυλίνου τοῦ  
 καὶ Μεγαλιεῖον Ἀυρήλιον Ἑρμεία . . . ᾧ  
 . . . ντους ἀπὸ [τ]ῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρειν  
 5 δμολογῶ ἀπεσχηκέναι παρά σου ἀφ' ὧν  
 μοι ὀφείλει' ε' ἀργυρίον Πτολεμαϊκοῦ  
 νομίσματος δραχμῶν χειλίας  
 καὶ[ο]ῦ νομίσματος δραχμὰς χειλίας·  
 κυρία ἢ ἀποχὴ ἀπλή γραφεῖσα καὶ ἐπερω-  
 10 τηθεὶς ὑπὸ σου ὠμολόγησα·  
 (ἔτους) ε' Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ (ἔτους) ε'  
 Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν· Θωθ κ'·  
 (2nd hd.) Ἀυρήλιος Πολυδεύ-  
 κης Ὀρίωνος ἔσχον  
 15 τὰς τοῦ καινοῦ δρα-  
 χμὰς χειλίας·

'Aurelius Polydeuces, son of Horion, Antinoite of the tribe Paulinios and the deme Megalisios, to Aurelius Herm . . ., son of . . . of the same city, greeting. I declare that I have received from you, out of the thousand drachmae of silver of Ptolemaic coinage that you owe me, a thousand drachmae of new coinage. The receipt, of which there is a single copy, is valid and in answer to the formal question put by you I have given my assent. In the sixth year of Diocletian and the fifth year of Maximian, Augusti, on the twentieth of Thoth.

(2nd hd.) I, Aurelius Polydeuces, son of Horion, have received the thousand drachmae of the new (coinage).'

<sup>3</sup> The difficulty over the reading of the patronymic obstructs the articulation; Ἑρμεί (Ἑρμείος), Ἑρμεία?

#### 2588-2591. SITOLOGI DOCUMENTS

It was common practice for individuals to maintain private deposits at the state granaries. They made payments from such accounts by issuing an order-to-pay: 'to the sitologi: pay to X . . .'. 2588-2590 are orders of this kind. The sitologi made the required transfer to the account of the payee, who then received a notice of credit: 'paid to X, through the sitologi, . . .'. 2591 1-11 is a notice of this kind. (See in general Preisigke, *Girwesen* 119 seqq.) Both forms of document could become negotiable instruments, if endorsed by the payee with his signature and a further order to pay. Thus 2591 was endorsed by the payee Sarapion in favour of Heraclides (12-15) and again by Heraclides in favour of Zoilus (16-18). These successive endorsements required no further recourse to the office of the sitologi: the documents circulated freely and so functioned almost as a paper currency.



2591. Notice of credit and orders for payment in grain. 7.9×18.9 cm. A.D. 158/9. With ll. 1-11 cf. 613-18; 1539-40. I am more than usually indebted to Professor Youtie for help in reading this rapid and much-abbreviated text.

διεστάλ(ησαν) (πιροῦ) γενή(ματος) κβ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου  
καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου δι(ὰ) εἰ(τολόγων)  
λιβός τοπ(αρχίας) Πέ(λ)α τόπ(ων) Σαραπί(ων)  
Μνησιθέου ἄρτ(αβαι) τέσσαρες  
5 τέταρτον χοί(νικες) ἕξ, (γίνονται) (ἄρτ.) δδ χ(οίνικες) ε.  
οὗ γερήμα(ος) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ)  
καὶ δι(ὰ) εἰ(τολόγων) Μονίμ(ου) Μνησιθεῖ Διογένης  
δι(ὰ) τ(οῦ) παι(δός) Σαραπί(ωνος) . . . ἄρτ(αβαι) δέκα  
μίαν ἡμικ, (γίνονται) (ἄρτ.) ια L.  
10 οὗ γερήμα(ος) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) ἄλ(λαι) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ)  
χοί(νικες) τέσσαρες, (γίνονται) ἐπ(ὶ τὸ αὐτὸ) (ἄρτ.) ις.  
(2nd hd.) Σαραπίων ὁ προγεγραμμένος.  
διάστειλον Ἡρακλείδῃ Επ-  
θου τὰς προκ(ειμένας) ὑπὲρ προχρί-  
15 ας Κκὼ τόπ(ων) (ἄρτ.) ις.  
7 (3rd hd.) Ἡρακλείδης ὁ προγεγραμμένος. διάστειλ(ον)  
Ζωίλῳ Σαραπί( ) τὰς προκειμ(έναι)  
ἀρτάβ(αι) δέκα ἕξ.

7 Perhaps Μνησιθῆ 8 πηρ(οῦ) ἄρτ(αβαι) not suggested.

Transferred, of the wheat-crop of the 22nd year of Antoninus Caesar the lord, through the sitologi of the west toparchy, Pela district, to Sarapion son of Mnesitheus: four and a quarter artabae and six choinikes (making 4½ art. 6 choin.). Of which same crop of the same year, through the sitologi of Monimou, to Mnesitheus son of Diogenes, by his son Sarapion: eleven and a half artabae (making 11½ art.). Of which crop of the same year, another four choinikes of the same: making 16 art. in all. (2nd hd.) Sarapion the aforesaid. Transfer to Heraclides son of . . . the above-mentioned 16 art., in respect of an advance-loan in the Sko district. (3rd hd.) Heraclides the aforesaid. Transfer to Zoilus son of Sarap . . . the above-mentioned sixteen artabae.

## PRIVATE LETTERS

## 2592. INVITATION

5.6×4.2 cm.

Later first or second century

An invitation to the *klime* of Serapis, written along the fibres in a small fluent cursive. For the parallel texts, all of the second and third centuries, see Eitrem and Amundsen, P. Oslo iii, pp. 246 seqq.; Youtie, *HTR* xli (1948), pp. 13 seqq.

ἔρωτᾶ σε Νεῖλος δειπνήσαι  
εἰς κλείην τοῦ κυρίου Σαραπίδος  
ἐν τῷ Σαραπίῳ τῆ ἰ ἀπὸ ἄρ(αι) θ̄

'Nilus invites you to dine at a banquet of the lord Serapis, in the Serapeum, on the 10th at the 9th hour.'

3 Perhaps ὄρα(ς). θ̄: the trace excludes ζ (e.g. 1485) and η (e.g. 1486-7).

## 2593. LETTER OF APOLLONIA

10.4×21.1 cm.

Second century

Apollonia has been collecting woollen yarn for Heraclides: in this letter she presents a systematic account of her expenditure—the amounts of wool and warp; the price of the warp, which was bought ready-spun; and, for the wool, the price of raw wool and the expenses of spinning. Spinning and weaving are common enough topics in private letters (for example, in SB 1974; P. Giss. 12; P. Berl. Zill. 9). But Apollonia's letter is much more detailed and technical than these others, and accordingly offers some obscurities. For the technicalities of spinning, see Blümner, *Technologie* i 108 seqq.; Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* iv 149 seqq. On spinning in the papyri, see S. Calderini, *Aeg.* xxvi (1946), pp. 40, 44 seqq.; Kalleres, *Αἱ Πρώται Ὑλαι τῆς Ὑφαντουργίας*.

The writing runs parallel with the fibres on the recto. The hand is square and neat, informal but not cursive: *Pap. Gr. Ber.* 31 shows the same style more carefully written.

Ἀπολλωνία Φιλήτῳ χαίρειν.  
 ἀσπάζομαι σε λείαν καὶ Ἡρακλεῖδην,  
 ἔπεμψα δέ σοι διὰ Ὀννόφριος νε(ωτέρου)  
 τὰ σύνεργα τῆς στολῆς τοῦ Ἡρακλεῖδ(ου)  
 5 κρόκης μναὶ ζ̄ ἐξ ὀκτῆς στατή-  
 ρε[ς] . . . αἷ εἰς[ε] κύριγγες ρ̄ι καὶ  
 στημῶν ἀπὸ Λύκων πόλεως  
 ὀκτῆς στατήρες θ̄ αἷ εἰς σφαιρεία  
 10 ὄν ἢ τιμὴ τοῦ στημονος ἐκ δρα-  
 χμῶν εἴκοσι ἐνὸς τῶν λ στα-  
 τήρων ὀκτῆς, γίνονται (δρ.) ξ̄γ, ἢ δέ  
 τιμὴ τῶν ἐρεῶν τῆς κρόκης (δρ.) λ̄ς.  
 κατέφθακε εἰς τὸ κλώσαι ὀκτῆς  
 στατήρες λ̄ τοῦ στατήρος καὶ ἐγὼ  
 15 ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου μου ὀκτῆς στατήρες  
 ἵ ἐρίου ἔδωκα εἰς διαπῆν τοῦ  
 καταρτισμοῦ (δρ.) δ. ἐκδέδωκα γε-  
 νέσθαι κλωσθῆναι τρεῖς μνάς  
 20 ἐξ ὀβολοῦ τοῦ στατήρος ὀκτῆς,  
 γίνονται (δρ.) ῑζ̄ (πεντώβολον) καὶ ἐγὼ τὰ ἄλλα  
 τέσσαρες μναὶ ἔκλωσα καὶ βέβλη-  
 κα εἰς αὐτὰ σπάρτον χρωμάτων  
 μελανὸν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν βάλε εἰς τὸν  
 ἀβόλλην τῆς στολῆς τρεῖς μνάς.  
 25 ἀσπαζόμεθά σε λείαν. ἔρρωσο.  
 ὁ δὲ στημῶν παρ' ἐμοὶ βέβρεκται.

(2nd hd.) (ἔτους) [. . . .] Θῶθ.

(Verso) ἀπόδος Φιλήτῳ ὥστε Ἡρακλεῖδην.

3 νε 4 ηρακλεῖ 8 λ σφαιρεία 17 (δρ.) δ: δ has no suprascript stroke 19 ὀβολοῦ:  
 β corr. from λ 21 ἐκλωσα: κ corr. from γ 22 αὐτα' 26 λ βέβρεχται (cf. Maysers 1<sup>2</sup>, 2, 172)

'Apollonia to Philetus, greetings. I send my very best wishes to you and Heraclides, and I have  
 dispatched to you by Onnophris the younger the materials for Heraclides' outfit: 7 minae of wool,  
 weighing . . . staters, that is 110 reals; and warp from Lycopolis weighing 90 staters, that is 75 balls.  
 The cost of this: for the warp, at twenty-one drachmae per 30 staters weight, in all 63 dr.; and the

price of the wool for the woof, 36 dr. 30 staters weight has already been spun for one stater, and I gave  
 10 staters weight of wool of my own towards the cost of the preparation, 4 dr. I sent out three minae  
 to be spun, at an obol per stater weight, in all 17 dr. 5 ob., and I myself spun the other four minae and  
 put into them a coloured black thread—put three minae of these into the cloak of the outfit. We  
 send our very best wishes to you. Goodbye. The warp has been soaked here with me. (2nd hd.)  
 Year . . . Thoth.

(Verso) 'Deliver to Philetus for Heraclides.'

2 ἀσπάζομαι: the initial greeting occurs only in letters of the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th cent. (Koskenniemi,  
*Studien z. Idee u. Phraseologie* 149).

4 σύνεργα: cf. 1069 8, 12; 1159 15; P. Mich. 216, 22; 218, 11. The meaning is 'materials' (Ljungvik,  
*Eranos* 27, 169, n. 3), and in particular 'yarn for weaving'. The narrower sense fits all the occurrences  
 in papyri: cf. Artem. *Περὶ Ὀνείρων* 3. 36 σύνεργα . . . τὰ εἰς ὄφην ἱστοῦ παρασκευαζόμενα κ.τ.λ. (The  
 article in LSJ is quite wrong.)

5 seqq. In *La Parola del Passato* xiv (1959), p. 142 Bresciani publishes a 12-stater weight from  
 Roman Egypt. He estimates its original weight as 170 gr. On this standard, Apollonia bought about  
 7·8 lb. of wool and 2·8 lb. of warp.

6 κύριγγες are presumably hollow tubes on which the yarn was wound, the *κάλαιμοι στημῶν* of P.  
 Tebt. ii 413, 11–12 (despite Kalleres 170, n. 3). I find no other reference for this use, nor for *σφαιρίον*  
 (l. 8) as a 'ball of wool'. See Kalleres 167 seqq.

10 seqq. Johnson, *Economic Survey* ii 320 seqq., quotes other wool prices.

13 κατέφθακε: *καταφθάνω* appears at 1482 10 and 18, and at BGU 665 ii 14, but each time in an  
 obscure context. I take the general sense to be 'there has already been spun', not 'there has already  
 been spent on the spinning': this second interpretation, though it suits ll. 15–17, leaves no construc-  
 tion for τοῦ στατήρος.

14 στατήρες λ: how do these fit in the account? Prima facie the 7 minae of wool (l. 5) are all ac-  
 counted for in ll. 18 and 21.

τοῦ στατήρος: Youtie recognized this as a genitive of rate: cf. SB 9025, 12, 15. The stater is here  
 a coin, not a weight, as the omission of ὀκτῆς shows.

17–18 γενέσθαι κλωσθῆναι: 'to get to be spun'? The impersonal *γίνεται* + infinitive (Maysers 2, 1,  
 307; Blass-Debrunner, *NT Gramm.* § 393, 5) makes no real parallel to the construction here. Youtie  
 suggests that the two infinitives are alternatives: the writer added the more explicit *κλωσθῆναι* and  
 forgot to delete *γενέσθαι*.

19–20 The calculation, if exact, would imply a mina of 35 $\frac{3}{8}$  staters. The *ἄσπράτῃρος μνά* is known  
 from P. Cairo Zeno 59851 (a) 2–3 and 19; cf. Hultsch, *Metr. Script. Rel.*, index s.v. μνά (7) and (10).  
 (This assumes a drachma of 6 obols. A drachma of 7 or 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  obols is equally possible, but the correspond-  
 ing values of the mina—41 $\frac{1}{2}$  staters, 42 $\frac{3}{8}$  staters—approximate to no known standard.)

24 ἀβόλλην: a thick woollen cloak, often mentioned in literature (Mayor on Juvenal iii 115) and in  
 the papyri (*Aeg.* xxi (1943), pp. 106 seqq.). See L. M. Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans* 84–86.  
 The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* 6 mentions ἱμάτια βαρβαρικά ἀγναφα τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γινόμενα, Ἀρμενοῦτικαὶ  
 στολαὶ καὶ ἀβάλλαι νέθου χρωμάτων.

26 βέβρεκται: the warp would be dipped in hot water before it was put on the loom: Kalleres 168  
 (cf. Calderini 39 seqq.).

## 2594. LETTER

9.4 × 2.3 cm.

Second century

A letter of remonstrance, complete except for the first line. The writing, parallel with the fibres, is a large clumsy cursive very like that of Apion's celebrated letter from Misenum (Schubart, *Par. Gr. Ber.* 28). On the verso stand two blotted lines, of which the first might be read ἀπόδος.

[  
 τῶι ἀδελ(φῶ) χαίρειν.  
 καὶ κατ' ὄψιν σοι ἐνε-  
 τειλάμην περὶ παιδι-  
 κῶν ἐν δὲ δοκεῖς με  
 5 ἄλλως περὶ σοῦ φρονεῖν  
 καὶ οὐ φίλων ἐε συν-  
 βούλευον, ἐμοῦ πα-  
 θόντος ἀπ' αὐτῶν. ἀλ(λ)'  
 ὃ τι ἔπραξας γένοιτο  
 10 ἐπὶ τοῦ συμμέροντος.  
 περὶ ὧν βούλει γρά-  
 φε μοι. ἀπάξεται ἐε  
 τὰ ἀβάσκαντά σου παι-  
 δία καὶ ἡ ἀδελφή σου  
 15 καὶ οἱ φίλοι πάντες.  
 ἄσπασαι Θαῆσιν.  
 ἐρῶσθ(αι) εὔχ(ομαι).

'... to... his brother, greetings. When I saw you, too, I told you what to do about the maids, but you think that I have other feelings about you and was not advising you as a friend, although I have suffered from them. Well, may what you have done turn out to your advantage. Write to me about your wishes. Your children, whom the evil eye shall not touch, and your sister and all your friends send you their best wishes. Give my best wishes to Thaeis. I pray for your health.'

3-4 παιδικῶν: servants, but not necessarily slaves: see Bauer, *NT Wb.* s.v. παιδικῆ; P. Hib. ii 207, 16, note. παιδικῶν ('sons') seems less likely.

6-7 The sense is clear, the construction obscure. It seems simplest to assume an anacoluthon and take συνβούλευον as an imperfect: for the omission of the augment, cf. Mayser, *Grammatik* 12, 2, 98; Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen* 27, n. 1.

7-8 On this common form of genitive absolute, see Mayser 2, 3, 68; Ghedini, *Aeg.* xv (1935), p. 230.

## 2595. LETTER OF HORIGENES

12.2 × 13.2 cm.

Third century

Horigenes invites Serenus to join him, and incidentally (6-7) gives an interesting glimpse of nome particularism. The text is written along the fibres: the main hand belongs to the second or third century, and the cursive subscription, with its large bipartite ε, points definitely to the third.

Ἵριγένης Σερήνωι τῶ ἀδελφῶι  
 χαίρειν.  
 γνώσκειν ἐε θέλω ὅτι τὸ προσκύνημά σου <ποιῶ>  
 καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν παρὰ τοῖς ἔνθαδε θ[ε]-  
 5 οῖς. καλῶς ποιῆσεις ἐλθὼν πρὸς ἡμᾶς πρὸς  
 ὀλίγας ἡμέρας. καὶ γὰρ πολλοὶ Ὁξυρυγι-  
 ται ἔνουσι ἔνθαδε. μέμφομε δέ ἐε ὅτι οὐ-  
 πω μοι ἀντέγραψας. ἀπάξου τὸν ἐπιεστῆτην  
 καὶ Σαραπάμμωνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ τὴν  
 10 δέσκαλον καὶ τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ πάντας.  
 (2nd hd.) ἐρῶσθαί ἐε εὔχομαι, ἀδελφε.  
 (verso) ἀπόδος Σερήνωι X ἀργυροκόπῃ  
 X

1 Σερήνωι: η corr. from ω; ω corr. from ι 6 l. Ὁξυρυγι- 7 l. μέμφομαι 8 ἀπάξου: c is a correction 10 δέσκαλον: c corr. from λ; λ corr. from τ (γ?) 11 ἐρῶσθαί: first r rewritten; α corr. from ι

'Horigenes to Serenus his brother, greeting. I want you to know that I make obeisance for you every day to the gods here. You will do well to come to us for a few days, for there are many Oxyrhynchites here. I blame you for not answering my letter yet. Give my best wishes to the overseer and your brother Sarapammon and the governess and the whole household. (2nd hd.) I pray for your health, brother.

(Verso) 'Deliver to Serenus the silversmith.'

3 <ποιῶ>: see the examples of the formula collected by Exler, *A Study in Greek Epistolography* 108-10.

5-6 πρὸς ὀλίγας ἡμέρας: 'for the space of a few days': Kapsomenos, *Ἐρευναί* . . ., 1st ser., 356.

7 ἔνουσι: the form recurs in a much less literate letter, P. Abinn. 31, 15: is it a plural to ἐνι (ἐνι, ἐνεῖ)? or merely a slip? (The letters might equally represent ἐνοσσι, but I find no example of ἐνοσθ or even ἐνοσθαί in the required sense ('come together'), whether in ancient or in modern Greek.)

10 δέσκαλον: see P. Mich. viii 464, 10, note. This shortening of διδέσκαλος illustrates the process which has left Modern Greek without reduplications: Jannaris, *Historical Greek Grammar* § 737.





[Κεφαλίων]ων Ἡρακλῆ τῶι τει-  
 [μ]ωπάτωι χαίρειν.  
 [γενόμενος ἐν [Ἀ]λεξανδρεία ἀνα-  
 [φόρι]α π[α]ρέδωκα τῶ κυρίῳ ἡγε-  
 5 [μόν]ι· καὶ οὐδὲν μοι ὑπεγράφη μέ-  
 [χρι το]ῦτ[ο]υ. οὐ κάμνει δέ σου ὁ ἀντιδι-  
 [κος ἐ]ντυγχάνων, οὐδ' ἐγὼ ὑποτυν-  
 χ[άνω]ν, ὥστε ἀκούσαι με "προς-  
 κ[αρτ]έρε[ι] τῆ τάξει, καὶ ὅταν ἀναγο-  
 10 ρε[υθ]ῆ[ι]ς, ὑποτεύξῃ· τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἔ-  
 ςτα[ι] δὴ λίγον χρόνον, ὡς γε οἴμαι ὁ γὰρ  
 κύριος ἡγεμὼν ἐξέρχεται τῆ νεο-  
 μηρία τ[ο]ῦ Ἄθου εἰς Ἑρμοῦ πόλιν ἀπαρ-  
 τίξαι τὰς διαγνώσεις, καὶ προέθη-  
 15 κε[ν] πρόσ[τα]γμα περὶ τούτου. ἐὰν οὖν  
 δόξῃ σο[ι] διαπέμψαι μοι (δρ.) μ, καὶ ἐ-  
 [πιστολ]ῆν πρὸς τὸν παῖδα σου ὥστε  
 [παρ' αὐτοῦ] ἄλλας (δρ.) μ λαβεῖν με, ἵνα  
 [. . . . .] ἡς τῆ δλ[η] διμήνην εν  
 20 [. . . . .] ε[. . .] μ[ε]ν[ο]ρς πε

Verso:

Ἡρακλῆ πρόσ[τα]γμα πρὸς τὸν παῖδα σου ὥστε

10 seq. l. ἔσται 19 First letter perhaps μ 20 After first ε: λ possible. Before first ν: υ possible. Verso: πρόσ[τα]γμα

'Cephalion to the most respected Heraclas, greeting. Having come to Alexandria, I have presented applications to our lord the Prefect; and no decision has been endorsed on mine yet. Your opponent is tireless in making petitions, and so am I in making counter-petitions; so that I have heeded (your instruction): "Stay close to the Prefect's office, and whenever you are cited, enter an objection." But this affair will not soon be liquidated, in my opinion, for our lord the Prefect is leaving on the first of Hathyr for Hermopolis to settle his decisions; and he has issued a pronouncement about this. So if you will, send me 40 drachmae, and a letter to your son so that I get another 40 drachmae, in order that you (won't have to . . .) the whole two months' period . . .'  
 (Address) "To Heraclas the elder, from Cephalion."

5 ὑπεγράφη: cf. UPZ i 118, 1 (see n. on ὑπογραφή).

7 seq. ὑποτυνχ[άνω]ν: cf. P. Ryl. 77, 39; here probably of a rejoinder or objection rather than an interruption.

11 seqq. The most obvious occasion for the Prefect's journey would seem to be the Conventus; for which see Wilcken, *Archiv* iv (1908), pp. 366 seqq.; Reinmuth, *The Prefect of Egypt*, pp. 98 seqq.; for the term *διάνοσις* in such a connexion, cf. (e.g.) P. Ryl. 113, 18 (A.D. 133). But both the time (Hathyr,

November) and the place mentioned here are somewhat at variance with previous conclusions about the Conventus. (See Wilcken, art. cit., p. 416; Reinmuth, op. cit., p. 101.)

15 πρόσ[τα]γμα: or possibly πρό[γρα]μμα.

15 seq. ἐὰν οὖν δόξῃ σο[ι] διαπέμψαι: Youtie remarks that this infinitive construction with ellipse of the principal clause is well known in late letters.

20 This line perhaps contained final greetings. The position of the address on the verso suggests that the letter was only a line or so longer.

Verso: πρόσ[τα]γμα: we cannot be sure which meaning the word had here.

## 2598. LETTERS FROM A CHARIOTEER

(a) 6.7 × 13 cm.; (b) 14.5 × 6.4 cm.

Third/fourth century

Two letters from a charioteer (*ἡνίοχος*) to his trainer (*ἀλείπτης*) which have substantially the same text and were found folded one inside the other. The reason for this is uncertain, but it might be conjectured that their writer, having received no reply to his first message, sent another, and that the addressee, having received both, kept them together. The mention of 'the lord Souchos' in (a) [3], (b) 3 suggests that they were sent from the Fayûm. Of the objects requested by the charioteer, one at least—the felt cap (*πίλον*)—seems identifiable in the illustrated papyrus from Antinopolis published by S. J. Gąsiorowski in *JEA* xvii (1931), pp. 1 seqq. (cf. pl. 1). The writing is sloping and inelegant, but clear. We are indebted to Professor Youtie, Signorina Vandoni, and Mr. D. Thomas for some readings and suggestions. (Read with Mr. A. Schachter.)

(a) [Ξένο]ς τῶ κυρίῳ Ἄμμ. . . . ]  
 [. . .] τῶ πολλὰ χ[αί]ρειν. τὸ προσκ[ύ]-  
 [νημά] σου ποιῶ παρ[ὰ] τῶ κυρίῳ Σούχῳ ]  
 5 ἐψ[ύ]μα[ν]ός σοι πάν[το]τε τῆν ὀλοκλη- ]  
 ρίαν. [π]ᾶν ποιήσομ [ ]  
 [[εγ]] δούνη μοι μαμ[υ]λιώνων ζεῦγος ]  
 κέ ζεῦ[γ]ος φ[α]σχι[δ]ίων πιλωτῶν ]  
 κέ πηλῶν, κέ τούτων [τῆν τιμήν] ]  
 μοι ἀντιγράψαι δι' ἀσφαλοῦς ]  
 10 ἀνθρώπου ὃν σοι δο[κεῖ] ]  
 ἀλλὰ ἐν τάχῃ κύριε [ ]  
 ἐρρώσθαι [εὐχομαι. ]

Verso: traces only of the address.

4 l. εὐχόμενος  
form [—] l. δούνη6 What might appear to be η written over εγ is probably cancellation in the  
7 l. καί; φασκιδίων 8 l. καὶ πῖλον 11 l. τάχει

(b) *Ξένος ἡνίοχος Ἀμμ[. . .][. . .]*  
*χαίρειν. τὸ προσκύνημά σου ποιῶ παρὰ τῷ*  
*κυρίῳ Σούχῳ εὐχόμεναίς σοι πάντοτα τὴν διοκλή-*  
*ριαν. πᾶν ποιήσον πέμψαι μοι ζεῦχος μαμιλιώ-*  
 5 *ρων καὶ πηλὴν καὶ φασιδίων πλωτῶν ζεῦχος,*  
*καὶ τούτων τὴν τιμὴν μοι ἀντιγράψαι δι' ἀεφα-*  
*λοῦς ἀνθρώπου, εἴῃα οὕτως α[ὐτ]ῷ [τῷ] κέρμα ἀποκα-*  
*[ταστήσω.*  
 Verso: *]. ἡνίοχου Ἀμμ[*  
*ἀλίπτη. δις ἔγ[ραψα].*

1 l. ἡνίοχος 2 l. χαίρειν; προσκύνημα 3 l. εὐχόμενος; πάντοτε 5 l. πηλὴν; φασιδίων  
 7 l. ἴνα. Verso 1 l. ἡνίοχου 2 l. ἀλίπτη

(b) 'Xenos, charioteer, to Amm . . ., greeting. I make obeisance for you in the presence of the lord Souchos, praying always for your prosperity. Make every effort to send me a pair of breast-plates (?), and a felt cap, and a pair of felt straps (?); and write back and tell me the cost of these through (some?) trustworthy person, so that I may thus reimburse him with the cash . . .' (Address) 'From Xenos) . . ., charioteer, to Amm . . ., trainer. I have written twice.'

(a) [1]; cf. (b) 1; Verso 2: Ἀμμ. . . : there will not have been room in either text for Ἀμμονίῳ τῷ (τιμιωτάτῳ).

5 (a) will have had a longer alternative for the πέμψαι of (b) 4; for its possible sense, see the translation.

6 The writer began a verb beginning with ἐγ- (= ἐκ-) and cancelled it in favour of δοῦναι. μαμιλιώνων: this seems more likely than -ωρίων, which would make the writing somewhat crowded. In either case the word is otherwise unexampled. Signorina Vandoni suggests that it may be equivalent to the Latin *mamillare* (see Forcellini, *Lexicon* iv, p. 33, s.v.; cf. *pectorale*, ib. p. 545). The termination of the word here, however read, is puzzling, but a connexion with *mamilla* seems probable; 'breast-plate' or 'breast-protector'? We may perhaps compare the attire of the charioteers in Gasiorowski's illustrated papyrus. Note that the following items (the order is different in (b)) are both articles of apparel.

7 φ]ασιδίων: cf. φακία; 'braces' or 'shoulder-straps'?

9 There would be room for τινος at the end of the line.

10 (a) alone has οἱ σοι δοῖ[κει]; (b) alone the promise of reimbursement. At the end of the line, perhaps πέμψαι μοι.

11 Supply πέμψων?

## 2599. LETTERS FROM TAURIS

6 × 26 cm.

Third/fourth century

There are two letters written on this papyrus, one on each side and both across the fibres. They were sent by a woman to two men whom she calls 'father' and 'brother'. The papyrus shows three folds, which have caused most of the damage to the second letter. Since there is no address, it was perhaps enclosed in a parcel. 120 is a close parallel to the form and from l. 12 there it is clear that those two addressees lived in the same place.

A Jewish or Christian circle is implied by a greeting to a woman called Susanna and to another probably called Esther. A rule of thumb (from *CPJ* i, pp. xvii seqq.) is that persons with Biblical names in documents dated before the death of Constantine are more likely to have been Jews and in later documents more likely to have been Christians. It is also stated there that among early Christians New Testament names were in use before those from the Old Testament. I believe the writing is earlier than A.D. 337, though it may be as late as the early fourth century. It may be significant that *manuale* (μανοαλλεω) can mean a Jewish priestly vestment, but it also has three less exotic meanings (*v. n.*, l. 33). The evidence, therefore, seems to suggest that they were Jewesses, but it is not unambiguous.

The writer often disregards Greek spelling and grammar, particularly the case-endings.

τῷ κυρίῳ μου πατρὶ  
 Ἀπειθέωνι Ταῦρις  
 χαίρειν  
 πέμψον ἡμῖν  
 5 δύο κτενεὶν γερδενεὶν  
 καὶ δύο ὄνκειας στυρα-  
 κειν ἄλλα καὶ δύο κτενέ' ἵν'  
 μεγάλα τῆς κεφαλῆς·  
 καθὼς εἰρηκες μοι  
 10 εἰς τὸ χωρίον πέμπω  
 σοὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, πέμψον·  
 τὸ πορφυρεὺν το ἔλεγες  
 ὅτι ἀγοραῖνον ἀγόρασον·  
 εἶπε οὖν τὴν ἀδελφὴν  
 15 τῆς γυνεκος Διοσκόρου  
 λει Διδυμῆς ὅτι καθὼς ε'  
 εἰρηκες δικαρυτιδα  
 εἰ ποιεῖς, αὐτὰ ποίησον,  
 εἰ οὐ ποιεῖς, τὸ πορφυριγ  
 20 καὶ τὰ σιππία τοῦ πατρὸς ε'  
 μου· ἀπαδομαι Εἰςθυρ  
 καὶ τὴν ἀδελφήν σου Κοσαν-  
 να· καθὼς εἰρηκες οὖν,  
 Κύρα, ὅτι πέμπω σοὶ σαβα-  
 25 κατεια, πέμψον, καὶ πέμ(πω)  
 σοὶ τὰ τῶν εγυπθειων· ἀσ-  
 παδομαι σοὶ, Κύρα, καὶ τὴν  
 ἀδελφήν σου καὶ τὴν ἀδελφήν  
 τῆς μητρὸς σου.

5 l. κτενία and in l. 7  
 φύριον δ 13 l. ἀγοράζω  
 φύριον 20 l. στυππεῖα  
 Αἰγυπτίων 27 l. ce

6 l. ὄνκειας στυρακίων 9 l. εἰρηκας and in ll. 17, 23, 31, 33  
 14 l. τῆ ἀδελφῆ 15 l. γυναικός 16 l. λέγειν Διδύμη  
 21 l. ἀσπάζομαι and in l. 26 24 l. σοὶ σαβακάθια

12 l. πορ-  
 19 l. πορ-  
 26 l. σοὶ,

30 τῷ κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Θεοδώρῳ Ταῦρις πλείεστα χαίρειν· ἀγόρασόν μοι, κύριέ  
 μου ἀδελφε, τρία σαβακατεια  
 καὶ τὸ καλκεικεὺν 'κ.....' το εἰρηκες καὶ τρία σολγεια τὰ εἰς βαλανεῖα· τὸ  
 εμμιλτρειν τρυφερὸν το ἔδωκά σοὶ εἰς χρῆσιν ἵν'  
 λάβῃς [[εἰ]] ποί(τη)σον αὐτὸ φακειαιριν εἰ φέ[ρ]ε αὐτο(ῦ) τὴν τιμὴν· πέμψον μοι δύο  
 κτενεὺν μεγάλα· καθὼς  
 εἰρηκες ὅτι ..... ἀγοραῖνον, ἐρχόμενος ἔξω μνήθητι τὸν ὄρκον· τὸ μικρον  
 μανοαλλεω τὸ  
 εἰς τὸν σάκκον μῆδενὶ αὐτὸ δης· εἰρηκον αὐτον ἐρχόμενος· τὴν ημιλτρειν τρυφερεν  
 α. εἰμ...το  
 35 εἰς τὸ καβειν· εἶπε οὖν ἡ[ρ]ακλειανος ὅτι τὰ δύο τάλαττα, εἰ δοκεῖ σοὶ, ἀπο  
 [...]..... πορφυρεὺν ἀγόρασον·  
 ἀσπαδομαι σοὶ Ηρακλ...γ καὶ τὸν σύμβιον σου· ἀσπαδομαι Θεοδ[...]ου· ταχὺ ἔρχη  
 εἰνα εἶδομεν σοὶ.

30 l. σαβακάθια 31 l. δ, σόλια, ἡμιλτρειον, δ, σοὶ, χρῆσιν 32 l. φακίαιριν οἱ φακίαιριν, ἡ,  
 κτενία 33 l. ἀγοράζω, τοῦ ὄρκου, μικρόν, μανοάλιον (?) 34 l. δῶς, ἐνεγκον, τὸ ἡμιλτρειον τρυφερόν  
 (οἱ -οῦ?) 35 l. σοὶ, πορφύριον 36 l. ἀσπάζομαι (bis), ce, ἵνα ἴδωμέν σο

"To my lord father Apitheon, I, Taüris, send greetings. Send us two weaver's combs and two ounces of storax and also two large hair combs. Just as you said to me, "I shall send things like that to the farm for you", send them. Buy the purple of which you used to say, "I shall buy it". So then, tell the sister of Dioscorus' wife to say to Didyme, "If, as you said, you are working on . . . , go on working on them, if you are not, work on my father's purple and tow." I salute Esther (?), and your sister Susanna. So then, Cyra, as you said, "I shall send you some towels", send them, and I shall send you some Egyptian ones. I salute you, Cyra, along with your sister and your mother's sister."

"To my lord brother Theodore, I, Taüris send very many greetings. Buy me, my lord brother, three towels and the . . . pair of boots which you mentioned and three pairs of slippers for the baths. Take the half-pound of fine tow (?) which I gave you to use (and) [[either]] make it into a face-cloth or bring the value of it. Send me two large combs. As you said to me, "I shall buy . . .", remember your oath when you come away. As to the little book (?) in the bag, do not give it to anyone. Bring it when you come. As to the half-pound of fine tow (?) . . . . Tell the son of Heracleianus . . . the two talents, if you think proper, . . . buy purple. I salute you, Heracl . . . and your husband. I salute Theod. . . . Come quickly that we may see you."

2 Ἀπειθέωνι: not in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*. π is not damaged and is suitable palaeographically but the strokes of which it is composed might be interpreted e.g. γγ, γν, γκ, if this would produce a known name. The form in the text is intelligible as being formed from Ἄπις and -θέων in the same way as Apolltheon and Dionysiotheon.

5 κτενεὺν = κτενίων, which the writer was unable to decline. A weaver's comb is part of the loom which separates the threads of the warp so that the shuttle can pass through; cf. Kallieris, *ai πρώται ἔλαι* p. 155, n. 1, S. Calderini in *Aegyptus* xxxvi, p. 32.

γερδενεὺν = γερδιακά: the form is probably influenced by the preceding word and possibly by the memory of 'γερδιανά'.

6 στυρακεν = στυράκιον: cf. 1142 5.

9 εἰρηκες = εἰρηκας: cf. Mayser<sup>2</sup> I ii 8r seq.  
 10 χωρίον: meaning vague; 'farm', 'village'?

12 το: article for relative, as often; cf. Wilcken, *Archiv* iii 322. P. Mich. 518, 10 n., P. Abinn. 5, 9 n.

πορφύριον: it is not clear whether this is cloth or yarn or dye, but from ll. 19/20 dye seems most probable.

13 αγορανο: I take to be a 1st pers. pres. indic. (= αγοράζω) constructed from the aorist ἡγόρασα, perhaps on the analogy of ἐφθασα and φθάνω.

14 The text which I translate runs, εἰπέ . . . τῆ(ν) ἀδελφῆ(ν) . . . λδ(γ)ει(ν) Διδύμη(ς). This is the simplest solution and is implied by the word order, even though the cases are wild.

17 δικαρντίδα might be related to καρυζα 1740 II. 1740 is a list of articles several of which have to do with weaving. The equivalent suggested there was καρδία 'pulleys', but here a word for cloth or yarn is needed. δι- might indicate double thickness or quality; cf. διψαντός, τριψαντός, etc. It seems to be neuter plural; perhaps δικαρντίδια or δικαρντίδια (cf. καρυζα) would be nearer the correct form.

Perhaps the comma belongs after ἀνά. 'As for "dikarutída", if you are working on them . . .'

19 Sc. a second ποίρσον. Since purple and tow are raw materials, the construction will be parallel to that in ll. 32, ποίρσον ἀπὸ φακίριον 'make it (into) a face-cloth', but here the things into which the materials are to be made are left out, as being already well known to all the parties, and ποιεῖν is thus equivalent to 'work on'.

21 Ἐσθέρ: probably, in view of 'Susanna' in the next line, to be taken as equivalent to Ἐσθήρ.

24 Κύρα: an alternative here and in 27 is κύρα = κυρία (cf. Palmer, *Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri*, p. 65). If κύρα were the first reference to the 'lady', the relationships would not be affected, but if it meant Ἐσθέρ (l. 21), as might be possible, then cov in 22 might refer to Esther and not to Apeitheon and 26 seqq. would repeat the sentiment of 21 seqq. with the addition of greetings to Esther's maternal aunt. ἀπαλόμαι is used both as an introduction and a farewell (Exler, *Epistolography*, pp. 111, 115).

Interruptions of a letter to address another person are noted in P. Mich. viii 481, 32-34; 495, 21; 514, 35-37.

25 πέμ(πω): perhaps πέμ(τω) should be read but the same edge appears to be preserved in this line as above and below.

31 καλεικεν from 'caliga', v. S. Daris, *Aegyptus* xl, p. 211, Meinersmann, *Die lat. Wörter*, s.v. καλίαν = 'calceus' (correct reference to SB 7168). For singular words denoting pairs of shoes cf. P. Mich. viii 477, 27 n., 508, 5 seqq.

κ. . . . .: in the first text τὸ εἶρηκες ought to have gone with καλεικεν. In the translation, therefore, I take the insertion to be an adjective agreeing with καλεικεν, without denying that it might be something else, e.g. καὶ . . . . . The letters are small and written along a fold.

τρυφερὸν σιππίον τρυφερόν is known from BGU 1080, 18 seq. and the translation supposes that 'tow' is understood here.

32 . . . . .: the tops of these letters are in a fold and there also seems to be an addition or correction of one or two letters. A good guess could be verified.

μανοαλλειν = 'manuale', which according to *Thes. Ling. Lat.* means (1) book, (2) portable lectern, (3) Jewish priestly vestment, (4) hand-towel. The third is interesting in view of the Old Testament names but a choice among these four does not seem to be possible. A roll in a wrapper could be a copy of the Torah, cf. Y. Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls*, pp. 54 seq.

34 δης = δῶς: cf. 1158 14 P. Abinn. 7, 22; 36, 12; 59, 12; v. Maysner<sup>2</sup> i ii, pp. 86 seq.; cf. δν (for δῶ) P. Mich. viii 510, 24.

ενηκον = ἐνεγκον v. Maysner, i, p. 19.

αυτον I. ἀντό?, or retain ἀτόν and refer it to σάκκος?

ἐρχόμενος: χο corrected from something now unrecognizable.

την this may indicate that the phrase is meant to be in the accusative. The confusion of genders may be due to the influence of λῆτρα in the word or to the identical pronunciation of -ειν and -ην, cf. P. Mich. viii 473, 10 n.

α, ερ . . . το: between α and ε either ε or ρ; after ε, α would suit the traces of the tops of letters; the left part of the crossbar of τ begins very low, perhaps coming from a c or perhaps there is no letter between α and το. My only idea is αμεμῆγο = ἐ(γ)έμετο, which is theoretically possible, but in the obscure circumstances unlikely to be right.

35 καβειν: this word is probably related to κάβος, which is a measure of varying size and for both solids and liquids, i.e. it is the 4th part of a modius (Epiphanius; Greek text in Lagarde, *Symmicta* i, p. 214, 19 seqq.) or, according to the Syrian text (J. Dean, *Epiphanius' treatise on weights and measures*, Orient. Inst. Univ. Chicago. Studies in Oriental Civilisation, p. 68), the 5th or 6th part. Adjectival forms—καβεία according to Lagarde p. 219 and P. Nessana 24, 5, 8, 12, but perhaps καβείων according to the Syriac transliteration, Dean p. xii—denote the area of land that can be sown by a cab of seed. According to Africanus *περι σταθμών* (Lagarde op. cit. 169) κάβος is the equivalent of a χοε in liquid measure. Epiphanius says that the word is from a Hebrew root (Lagarde 214, Dean 46) but Dean says that the supposed Hebrew word does not exist. However, a Palestinian or Syrian connexion is likely, cf. 4 Kings 6, 25, P. Ryl. 629 91, 186, 247; 630 4.

καβειν, appearing three times in a very doubtful context in P. Strassb. 35, 7, 10, 18, may also be relevant, and so, possibly, may καβιν, read as a personal name in P. Mich. viii 473, 11. Before I was possessed of the above information Professor Youtie suggested that what was wanted here was the place or receptacle where the tow was to be found. On this basis I guess that the καβειν = καβιετον was a container used also as a measure.<sup>1</sup>

επε ο υ[ο]ς Η[ρ]ακλειανος: the classical interpretation would be, 'Your (my?) son Heracleianus said', but in a text where the cases are so wildly used (v. ll. 14, 16, 33) the word order should be of more importance, and we should probably understand εἰπέ τῷ υἱῷ Ἡρακλειανοῦ (or -ῶ); cf. P. Mich. viii 492, 14. One would like to read οἴη[ ] (cf. l. 14), but the trace after the gap is a heavy horizontal most easily read as the cap of a c.

αγο[ ] . . . . .: the first letter after the hole, which is narrow, has a long descender. The other traces are too scanty to be intelligibly described.

36 Ηρακλ. . . ν: Presumably an accusative instead of the expected vocative, cf. P. Mich. viii 514, 36 n. None of the women's names with the same beginning in Preisigke, *Namenbuch* will fit the space, but it is likely to be a known name written anomalously.

ου appears quite clearly; ρ would probably show beneath the hole if it were there but there are several possibilities besides Theodoros.

ἐρχη v. Horn, *Uses of the Subjunctive and Optative Moods in Non-literary Papyri*, pp. 120 seqq.

## 2600. LETTER FROM COPRIAS TO SARAPION

13 × 22.5 cm.

Third/fourth century

This letter is written on the verso of a piece of papyrus cut from a list of buildings and building materials 2581. The list is upside down in relation to the letter and there is an address written downwards between its two columns. The letter then had to be folded inwards from both sides to expose the address. There is slight damage along the first three folds from the left. More serious damage at the foot has removed the beginning of the address on the back (recto) but, because of a deep lower margin, has affected only the subscription of the letter.

The writing is large and clear, with rounded cursive forms of π and ν and with some ligatures, but without any blurring of the individual letters. It appears to belong to the late third or to the early fourth century and the same date is implied by the form of the address, which began to be used in the late third century (Ziemann, *De epistularum Graecarum formulis*, pp. 280 seq.). The mention of silver 'of the new coinage', which is referred to in documents ranging between A.D. 266 and 303 (l. 12 n.), indicates that the latest possible date is not much after A.D. 300.

<sup>1</sup> I now notice that there is some confirmation of this in Hesychius s.v. κάβος. The entry runs κ. μέτρον σικκῶν χρονικῶν ὁ δὲ στυρίδα.

The letter has been corrected by a second hand, perhaps that of Coprius himself, which removed many of the errors, especially those of itacism. The corrector took no interest in the prescript and missed one or two itacisms (ll. 6, 10, 15) but all his corrections are good.

The mention of a temple of Apis in the recto (2581 ii 17) may indicate that the letter was sent to Oxyrhynchus from Memphis.

κυρίῳ μου Σαραπειῶνι  
 Κοπρίᾳ εἰς πρακτῶν  
 καθὼς μοί ἐνετείλω πρόνοια ἢ προσ-  
 ἡκούσα σοι γέγονεν ἐν τοῖς οἴνοις·  
 5 ἄμερι[.] μνεῖν οὖν κατὰ τοῦτο  
 τὸ μέρος οφιλ᾽ εἶς· τὸν ἀδελφὸν  
 Ἀπολιναρίον παρακατατίθεμαί σου  
 τῇ χρηστότῳ[η]τ[.] μ[.] ὄνπερ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς  
 ἀγνοεῖς· ἐπιδώσεις οὖν σεαυτὸν  
 10 ἐν οἷς εἶναι σου δεηθεῖς· εἶ καλῶς  
 ποιήσεις μεταβαλόμενος εἰς ἀναγ-  
 καίας μου χρείας ἀργυρίου καινοῦ  
 τάλαντ[α] τέ[ε]αρα· ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐν-  
 εδρεύσης τὸν σὸν Κοπρίαν· ἐπί-  
 15 τασαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς οὐκ εἰμὶ ἀνά-  
 {ε}θητος·

ἐρρ[ω]σεθαί ε[μ]ε εὐχ[ο]μαι·

recto ][...] (blank) Κοπρίᾳ ἀρχ( )

1 l. Σαραπειῶνι 3 ενετ᾽ εἶλω pap. 4 γεγονε᾽ ν' pap. 5 l. ἀμεριμνεῖν -μν' εἶν pap.  
 6 l. δφέλεις 7 παρακατατιθεμ[ε]αι' co{ι}υ' pap. 8 ο' υ' δε pap. 9 ἐπιδώε' εἶς pap.  
 10 l. δέηται 11 ποιησ[τ]η[ι] εἶς, εἶς pap. 12 -κ[ε]αι' ac, χρ' εἶας, ἀργυρ[ω]του pap. 14 seq.  
 επ[ε]ιστας(ε)' αἰ' pap. 15 l. εἰμι [η] εἶμει pap. αν(ε)' αἰ' εἰςθητος pap. 17 l. ce

'To my lord Sarapion I, Coprius, send good wishes. As you instructed me, the measures that were your concern in the matter of the wines have been taken. So you must have no fears in this respect. I am entrusting to your goodness my brother Apolinarius, with whom you are yourself not unacquainted. So you will give of yourself in whatever he may ask of you. You will do me a favour by paying over to him for my immediate needs four talents in silver of the new coinage. And do not make difficulties for your own Coprius. You know yourself that I am not a fool (?).  
 'I pray for your health.'

1 On the name Κοπρίᾳ cf. 2601 i n.

2 l. πράξενος or πράττων. Cf. 2561 2 n. The misspelling may arise from a vulgar pronunciation (cf.

1451 21 n.; *Chron. d'Égypte* xxiii (1937), p. 97 l. 10) or it may be due to conflation of the two spellings of the word, which both occur in the papyri (Mayer 1 223).

5 ἀμερι[.] μν' εἶν: the space in the break may have been avoided because of a roughness in the papyrus, or it may have contained a letter immediately cancelled or, as Professor Youtie suggests, the scribe may have written a double μ; and there is an example of this in *JEA* xxiii (1937), p. 219, no. v, l. 9.

6 οφιλ᾽ εἶς: cf. l. 15 where ημει for εἶμ is only half corrected to [η] εἶμει. At first I took this as δ φιλεις. The sentence owes its present, and proper, shape and punctuation to Professor Youtie.

10 ἐν added in the margin, perhaps by the first hand.

12 καινοῦ sc. νομίσματος. According to Johnson and West, *Currency*, p. 69, the extant uses of this phrase run from A.D. 266 (*CPHerm.* 86) to 303 (P. Lips. 84 vi 24). To the references there add 2587 (289).

15 ἀνάεθρος: taken in the usual sense of 'dull, foolish' (cf. Dem. v 15 of the Thebans) this seems to be a rather offensive close to a letter which is otherwise polite and friendly, v. σου τῇ χρηστότητι (7 seq.) and τὸν σὸν Κοπρίαν (14). '(Not) insensible of benefits' i.e. '(not) ungrateful' seems better but this sense is not to be found in the lexica.

recto ][...] these letters, all broken, do not seem to belong to the expected Σαραπειῶνι, but to another word, a patronymic or description or an address.

Κοπρίᾳ clearly nominative and therefore preceded by the addressee's name in the dative. This form of address supports other evidence for the date, cf. introd. ἀρχ( ), cf. BGU 351 5; P. Thead. 32, 13; P. Lond. 113 8c 4 (i, p. 220), all likewise in addresses, and, as Mr. Parsons points out to me, BGU 1617, 27; 1623, 5. P. Masp. 67030, 1 has ἀρχ(ων) τῆς Θεβαίδος and ἀρχ(ων) should be the right extension in the other cases too. It cannot mean *praeses*, and magistrate seems too vague. LSJ has some other meanings but I cannot see that any of them is specially appropriate here. Ἀρχων is known as a name, v. *Recherches de Papyrologie* ii (1962), pp. 43 (B ii 11), 62, but that seems hardly likely here.

## 2601. LETTER FROM COPRES

Plates IV and V

7 × 26.6 cm.

Early fourth century

This letter was written on damaged papyrus, and by a single hand throughout (perhaps, then, by Copres himself). The writing is a competent sloping semicursive, assignable to the late third or to the fourth century.

The content is unusually interesting. Copres writes to his 'sister' Sarapias in Oxyrhynchus, from a town where he is engaged on legal business. He had found on his arrival that litigants were being made to offer sacrifice; and he had appointed his 'brother' to appear in court in his place. They had instructed an advocate; the case (concerned with land) was to come on on the fourteenth. Copres then inquires after the health of his family.

Copres was a Christian: he uses a *nomen sacrum* (5), and closes his letter with a cryptographic Amen (34). The sacrifice in court was clearly an unexpected requirement, and one which he took steps to evade. It would be a natural guess that this requirement was in fact directed against the Christians.

And such a measure is attested for the Great Persecution. In describing the First Edict (23 Feb. 303) Lactantius says: 'cavebatur ut . . . ipsi non de iniuria, non de adulterio, non de rebus ablatis agere possent, libertatem denique ac vocem non haberent . . . et ne cui temere ius diceretur, arae in secretariis ac pro tribunali positae,

ut litigatores prius sacrificarent atque ita causas suas dicerent, sic ergo ad iudices tamquam ad deos adiretur' (*de Morte Persecutorum* 13. 1, 15. 5).

This fits the situation of our letter admirably. It may be, of course, that similar steps were taken in earlier persecutions, about which we have little information. But as the evidence stands, Copres will have been writing during the Great Persecution—and, since the requirement seems to come as a surprise to him, probably near the beginning of it. A date in the early fourth century suits the hand very well.

This is the first document from Egypt which certainly refers to the persecutions.<sup>1</sup> It is all the more a pity that we know nothing of the writer except what emerges from his letter. Copres writes colourless, paratactic Greek, with normal vulgarisms of spelling and syntax; he shows his Christianity by using the abnormal  $\vartheta\theta$ , but mishandles a *nomen sacrum*. That is, he was a man of average education; a zealous but not very intelligent Christian. The other names he mentions may be those of his family—Sarapias is probably his wife, Maximina and Asena may be his children. Maximina and Asena are both rare names; possibly Asena points to a Jewish connexion.

Copres's background, therefore, is matter for conjecture. But his story remains of the greatest interest. He easily evaded the sacrificial test; he evaded it with the help of a (pagan) friend; he speaks of it calmly, as of a minor nuisance, and sends for his family. There can have been no reign of terror at this time: Lactantius antedates the climax of the persecution; Eusebius, though he lacks the detail of the sacrificial test, offers a more reliable general picture.

I am indebted to Mr. Geoffrey de Ste Croix for his help with this text.

<sup>1</sup> P. Goth. 11 might perhaps refer to the persecutions; W. *Chr.* 127 remains obscure. The Paniscus letters are of course too early (P. Cairo Isid. p. 19). See Bell, *HTR* xxxvii (1944), pp. 206 seqq.; Cavassini, *Aeg.* xxxiv (1954), p. 271.

Κοπρής Σαραπιάδι ἀδελ-  
φή πλείστα χαίρειν·  
πρὸ μὲν πάντων  
εὐχομε ὑμᾶς δλοκλη-  
5 ρὶν παρὰ τῷ κυρί(ω) θ(ε)ῷ.  
γινώσκω σε θέλω  
ὄτι τῇ ἰᾷ εἰρήθημεν  
καὶ ἐγνώσθη ἡμῶν  
ὄτι οἱ προσερχόμενοι  
10 ἀναγκάζονται θύ-  
ειν καὶ ἀποστρατη-  
κὸν ἐποίησα τῷ ἀ-  
δελφῷ μου καὶ μέ-  
χρι τούτου οὐδὲν  
15 ἐπράξαμεν ἐκατη-  
χίσαμεν δὲ ῥήτορα  
τῇ ἰ. ἵνα τῇ ἰδῆ εἰ-  
καχθῆ τὸ πρᾶγμα  
περὶ τῶν ἀρουρά(ν).

20 εἴ τι δὲ ἐὰν πράξω-  
μεν γράφω σοι· οὐ-  
δὲν δέ σοι ἔπειμα  
ἐπίδη εὐρον αὐτὸν  
Θεόδωρον ἐξερχόμε-  
25 νον· ἀποστέλλω σοι  
δὲ αὐτὰ διὰ ἄλλου τα-  
χέως· γράφε δὲ ἡμῶν  
περὶ τῆς δλοκληρίας  
ὑμῶν πάντων καὶ  
30 πῶς ἔσχεν Μαξιμίνα

(left margin) καὶ Ἀσενά· καὶ εἰ δυνατόν ἔστω ἐρχέσθω (space) μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς σου  
(verso, along the fibres) ἵνα θεραπευθῆ τὸ λεγκωμάτιον· ἐγὼ γὰρ (space) εἶδον ἄλλου  
θεραπευθέντα· ἐρῶσθαί σε εὐχομε· ἀπάξομαι πάντας τοὺς ἡμῶν κατ' ὄνομα.

34 ἀπ(όδοσ) τῇ ἀδελφῇ π(αρά) Κοπρήτ(ος)  $\vartheta\theta$   
35 see note

4 ἦμας 7 ια: the bow of α crosses the ι; perhaps [ἦ]α το αναγ'κ 13 μου: μ written over α  
17 ἴνα. 18: δ corrected from α? Both numeral strokes are very faint, the second perhaps delusory  
19 αρουρῶ 29 ἡμῶν 32 ἴνα 34 απ', π'. κοπήρ

Copres to his sister Sarapias, very many greetings. Before all else, I pray for the good health of you all before the lord God. I want you to know that we arrived on the 11th. It became known to us that those who present themselves in court are being made to sacrifice. I made a power-of-attorney in favour of my brother. So far we have accomplished nothing. We instructed an advocate on the 12th (?), so that the case about the land could be brought in on the 14th. If we accomplish anything, I'll write to you. I've sent you nothing, since I found Theodorus himself setting out. I'll send them to you by another hand soon. Write to us about the health of you all and how Maximina has been and Asena. If it's possible let him (her?) come with your mother so that his (her?) leukoma can be cured—I myself have seen others cured. I pray for your health. My best wishes to all our friends by name.

(Address) Deliver to my sister, from Copres. 99 . . .

1 Κοπήρ: the name is a common one in Egypt, and has many congeners—Perdrizet suggested that they belonged originally to foundlings, *οἱ ἀπὸ κοπήρας* (REA (1921), pp. 85 seqq.). It is therefore unsafe to take Copres here as a Christian 'humility name' (an interpretation suggested by Professor A. D. Nock, who referred to the Latin Stercus and Stercorius, *Dict. arch. Chrét. lit.* xii 1519 seqq.). Equally unsafe to think of this Copres as a foundling: see *Arctos* n.s. iii (1962) 45 seqq.

The nominative comes first, contrary to later (Christian) practice: cf. Cavassini, *Aeg.* xxxiv (1954), pp. 273 seqq.

1-2 ἀδελφή: 'wife', most probably. In any case, Sarapias was not his full sister (31 'your mother').

5 κυρ(ω) θ(ε)ω: the papyrus has KYPITΘ; the suprascript stroke extends from above iota to the right edge of the sheet; after theta there is space for two letters.

A *nomen sacrum* was intended: the stroke proves this. But the writer seems not to have thought of it until he had written κυρ in full—he then hastened to abbreviate by omitting the omega. P. Merton ii 93, 35, note, lists some similar irregularities, due presumably to inexperienced or unintelligent Christians. 'One must bear in mind that in private letters the use of a *nomen sacrum* is surely always imitative, and the reason for writing it very likely unknown to the writer—unless he is himself a reader of good written texts (NT, etc.), or a professional scribe of such' (E. G. Turner).

At the end, either θ[ω] or θ[εω] gives a suitable line-length. I have restored the normal form, but the contraction stroke is sometimes combined with a complete word in the 4th cent. (P. Abinn. 4, 2, note; P. Jews, pp. 80 seqq.).

9 οἱ προσερχόμενοι: in the legal context (15-19) the verb will have its technical sense 'appear before a tribunal'. (Often in reports of court proceedings, BGU 587, 2 *προσελθὼν εἶπεν*, P. Amh. 66, 43, 40 4, 237 vii 21, M. Chr. 372 iv 17, P. Mich. vi 365, 4; *προσελθεῖν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ* PSI 41, 18, τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος P. Lips. 28, 5, *εἰς τὸ φροντιστήριον* 2343 9, *ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος* BGU 361 ii 12.)

11-12 ἀποστατικόν: for surviving documents of this kind, see 1642 introduction, and Taubenschlag *Law*<sup>2</sup> 506. The construction is paralleled in 509 12 *ὁμολογῶ τὸ στατικὸν πενήθηθαί ε[σ]θ[ι]*.

15-16 ἐκατήχησamen: P. Strassb. 41, 37 [Ἄμ]μύμιος βήτωρ εἶπ(εν)· ἐμὲ οὐδέποτε κατήχησεν. In 2343 8 *ἐδιδάξάμην* seems to be used in the same sense.

17 τ: all that remains of the second numeral is the upper half of an initial vertical, and perhaps the left end of a middle horizontal. The horizontal trace would favour 18 against 17.

19 Between 19 and 20 there is a space of about three lines, where the horizontal fibres have been stripped right off; in the marginal line 31 the gap falls after *ἐρχέσθω*. In neither place is the sense obviously defective. The first rho of *ἀρουρῶ*(ν) extends onto the exposed vertical fibres: presumably the papyrus was already damaged when the letter was written.

30 Μαξιμίνα: I have not found this name elsewhere in the papyri. *Μαξιμίμος* does occur, not uncommonly in the Byzantine period and occasionally before (BGU 156, 2; 1634 13).

31 Ἄσενά: as a masculine name LXX II Esdras 2, 50 (cf. *Ac(σ)ανα* I Esdras 5, 31, etc.). The papyri seem to know it only in the sixth century: 2058 134 *Μαρυρία Ἄσενά*, 150 *Ἡράει Ἄσενά* (so accented by the editors: Ἄσενά would be a natural Grecizing form). Ἄσενέθ and Ἄσενήθ (P. Flor. 297, 63, P. Lond. 1419, 99, etc.; BGU 972, 16, P. Ross-Georg. 41, 6) are feminine, and owe their popularity in the 6th

cent. and later to Potiphar's daughter (Gen. 41, 45). There are too many unknowns for us to guess how this Asena came by his name. Is it Jewish? (Professor A. Fuks tells me that he and his colleagues have not found the name in Jewish sources outside the LXX.<sup>1</sup>) Is it just biblical?

32 *λεγκομάτιον*: the word is regularly formed, but not elsewhere attested; as a reading it agrees well enough with the traces. A leukoma (*ἀφ' ἐλλώσεως οὐλή παχέα καὶ βαθεῖα* Galen xix 434) is mentioned several times in personal descriptions, e.g. P. Grenf. ii 51, 9.

ἐγὼ γὰρ εἶδον: why is the statement so emphatic? Remedies for leukoma were known in Egypt as elsewhere (Galen xii 737). But it would be rash to infer that Copres had a religious rather than a medical cure in mind—his words may be no more than a tribute to the doctors of the city (Alexandria?) from which he writes.

34 18: *ἐνεηκοταευνέα . . . καὶ τὸ ἀμὴν τοῦτον λέγουσιν ἔχων τὸν ἀριθμὸν* (Irenaeus, *Contra Haereses* I xvi = Epiphanius, *Panarion* 34, 12, 6; Migne PG vii 629B).<sup>2</sup> This isopsephy was therefore current among the Marcosiani in the late 2nd cent. A.D.; by the early 4th cent. (if our source can be trusted) it was widespread and respectable enough to be recommended by the Council of Nicaea (*Dict. arch. Chrét. lit.* ix 1574 seq.). In the papyri I have found no example before the earlier 4th cent. (P. Mich. vi 378, 1, cf. PSI xiii 1342, 1, 1162 15)—the same is true of the *χμγ* and the *λαβάρου* (P. Mich. vi 378, 1, viii 520, 15). Amen in full seems not to occur at all in 3rd- and 4th-cent. letters, and the use of 18 here has only one parallel—in 1162, a letter from a priest. This unusual feature may be a sign of special zeal. (I owe the reading here to H. C. Youtie.)

This line (the address) is upside down in relation to 32-33. It is divided after *ἀδελφή* by a double row of crosses. At the end, 18 intersects at right angles a damaged line of writing running along the shorter edge of the papyrus (35).

35 The traces are too substantial to be accident or offset; the script should be Greek (it is not Latin or Coptic or Aramaic). But I have found no satisfactory reading.

(1) If the papyrus is held with the intersection of 34 and 35 at the reader's left, 35 has the pattern . . . . . (.) [ . (.) ] . . , in which the first two letters tangle with φ in 34. One might read, e.g., φων . . . [ (R. A. Coles); after υ, apparently three letters written one above another; then two inscrutable signs. At the end, where the ink is quite clear, the first letter resembles nothing but ]φ; the second is a backwards ε (seemingly not a damaged θ).

(2) If the papyrus is turned upside down, the end of 35 becomes its beginning and may be read ε' of [ . (.) ] (L. Youtie); but what follows looks like nothing Greek.

(3) It may be that half of 35 is upside down in relation to the other, but even on this assumption no reasonable sense emerges. I see no way of deciding whether or not the line belongs to the same text as 1-34.

<sup>1</sup> Josephus' *Ἀσέναιος* (*Ant.* xviii 314), if it is the same name, is too early to be relevant.

<sup>2</sup> The resolution *βοήθη* seems not in place here, though it is necessary in some inscriptional texts (Dölger, *Byz. neugriech. Jahrbücher* i (1920), pp. 42 seq.).



## 2602. LETTER FROM AGATHUS

12.1 × 25.8 cm.

Earlier fourth century

An illiterate jumble of clichés, in which Agathus commends Theodora to Heraclius.

The hand is a practised cursive, written along the fibres: it is rapid and sloping in the body of the letter, and still more in the subscription; in the address it becomes larger, neater, and upright. The completed letter was folded four times vertically, and then once across; folding smudged the wet ink of the subscription. On the verso, the address stands half on either side of the horizontal fold.

κυρίω μ[ο]ν ἀδελφῶ Ἑρακλείω  
 Ἀγαθ[ο]ς χαίρειν.  
 ἀξιωθείς, κύριέ μου ἀδελ(φε), συν-  
 βαλαίσθαι τῇ ἀδελφῇ ἡμῶν  
 5 Θεοδώρᾳ εἴ τι ἐάν σοι ἀξιώ-  
 και. οἶδας γὰρ καὶ εὐ αὐτός, κύριε  
 ἀδελφέ, ὅτι γυνὴ (ἔστιν) τοῦ  
 ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν ἔστιν. συνβα-  
 λου ὄν αὐτῇ εἴ τι ἐάν σοι ἀξιώ-  
 10 και. οἶδα γὰρ σου τὸ σπουδαῖ-  
 ον· μᾶλλον ὑπαρχθήτω αὐτῇ  
 τὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς σου προερέσει.  
 προσαγορεύω ἀπ' ἐμοῦ  
 τοὺς κυρίους μου υἱοὺς καὶ  
 15 τὴν κυρίαν αὐτῶν μητέρα.

ἔρρωσθαί σοι εὐχομαι  
 πολλοῖς χρόνοις,  
 κύριέ μου ἀδελφε.

(Verso, along the fibres) κυρίω μου ἀδελφῶ Ἑρακλείω Ἀγαθος

4 l. βαλέσθαι. ἀδελφῆ: φ begun with a dry pen, and then redrawn 5-6, 9-10 l. ἀξιώσει  
 9 εἰ written with a dry pen, and then redrawn 10-11 σπουδαῖον: ν is a correction 11 αὐτῆ:  
 α rewritten 12 l. ἀγαθῆς σου προαιρέσεως 14 l. κυρίους. υἱοὺς pap. 16 l. σε

'To my lord brother Heraclius, Agathus sends greetings. At my request, my lord brother, give our sister Theodora whatever help she may request of you. Indeed, you yourself also, lord brother, know that she is the wife of our brother. So give her whatever help she requests of you. Indeed, I know your goodness: let your good will be all the more at her service. I present my compliments from me to my lords (my) sons and to their lady mother. I pray you may have good health for many years, my lord brother. (Address) To my lord brother Heraclius, Agathus.'

3-4 συνβαλαίσθαι: we expect συνβαλοῦ. For this natural inconcinnity ('ellipse', 'attraction', 'mixed construction', 'imperative infinitive') compare BGU 276, 7 (with παρακληθείς); SB 6263, 8 and 7562, 12 (with ἐρωτηθείς). The same phenomenon often occurs in hypothetical sentences: *Mus. Helv.* iii (1946), pp. 170 seqq.

5-6, 9-10 ἀξιώσαι: -σαι (i.e. -σε) instead of -ση, as, e.g., BGU 1575, 22-23, 157 6 (I owe the references to Frank Gignac S.J.).

10-11 οἶδα . . . τὸ σπουδαῖον: a cliché well attested for the second and third centuries (929 3, 1064 6, 1218 4, P. Ryl. 243 6). It takes on a Christian form in P. Abinn. 6, 5 seq.

12 ἀγαθῆ . . . προερέσει: cf. 1424 17-19 ἵνα μοι μαρτυρήσῃ τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγαθῆς σου προαιρέσεως αὐτῶ ὑπαρχθέντα (c. A.D. 318). 'Good will' is a favourite subject with 3rd- and 4th-cent. correspondents: cf. PSI 236, 34 εἰδώς σου τὴν ἀγαθὴν προαίρεσιν; P. Ryl. iv 696, 2 θαρρῶν τ[ῆ] ἀγαθῆ σου προαιρέσει; 1664 6 μεμνημένη τῆς ἀγαθῆς σου προαιρέσεως; 1665 7 καθ' ἣν ἔχεις πρὸς ἐμε ἀγαθὴν προαίρεσιν.

13 προσαγορεύω ἀπ' ἐμοῦ: a conflation οἱ προσαγορεύω and προσαγόρευε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.

## 2603. CHRISTIAN LETTER OF COMMENDATION

11.5 × 25 cm.

Fourth century

This letter was published (with plate) by J. H. Harrop in *JEA* xlviii (1962), pp. 132-40, and is reprinted here for completeness' sake.

τῶι κυρίῳ μου [ἀ]δελφῶι C[. . . .]νι  
 Παῦλος εἶ [πράτ]τειν  
 τῶι ἔσοπτρον κτησαμένῳ ἢ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτο ἐν  
 χειρὶ ἔχοντι ἐν οἷς τὰ πρόσωπα ἐνοσπρίζεται  
 5 οὐ χρεία ἐστὶν τοῦ λέγοντος ἢ μαρτυροῦντος  
 περὶ τοῦ αὐτῶν ἐπικειμένου χαρακτῆρος  
 καὶ τῆς χροίας καὶ τοῦ εἴδους ὅπ[οις] ἄω' [πρ] ὑπάρχει·  
 αὐτὸς γὰρ δι' ἑαυτοῦ μάρτυς γέγονεν καὶ λέ-  
 γειν δύναται περὶ τῆς ἰδ[ί]α[ς] ο[μο]ιωσεως·  
 10 καὶ οὐχ ὅτε τις αὐτῷ λέγει ἢ σαφηνίζει πε-  
 ρὶ τοῦ κάλλους καὶ τῆς εὐπρεπείας τῆς πε-  
 ρὶ αὐτὸν τότε πιστεύει· οὐ γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλ-  
 λους ὑπάρχει τοὺς ἐν ἀνοιῶι ὄντας  
 καὶ τοῦ ἔσοπτρου πόρῳ καθεστῶ-  
 15 τας τοῦ τὰς πάντων ὁμοιώσεις ἐπιδεί-  
 ξαντος· τὸ αὐτὸ δέ ἐστιν καὶ πρὸς σέ,  
 ὦ φίλτατε· καὶ γὰρ ὡς δι' ἐ[σ]π[ρο]ν κα-  
 τίδες τὴν πρὸς σέ μου ἔ[μ]φυτον  
 στοργὴν καὶ ἀγάπην τὴν ἀεὶ νέαν·  
 20 περὶ δὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων γνωρίμων  
 τῶν σοὶ τὰ γράμματα καταφερόντων  
 οὐ δέ[σ]ον μοι ἐστὶν γράψαι [σοὶ] ἄ' ἐπι[στα-  
 μ[ένω] τὴν πρὸς [πά]ρτα σοῦ φίλιαν  
 κα[ὶ] στο[ργή]ν, μάλιστα πρὸς τοὺς ἡμετέρους  
 25 ἀδελφούς· προσδέξαι οὖν ἐν ἀγάπῃ  
 ὡς φίλους, οὐ γὰρ κατηχούμενοί εἰσιν  
 ἀ[λλ]ὰ τῶν περὶ Ἰσίωνος καὶ Νικολάου  
 ἰδ[ί]οι ἄντιχάνουσι, καὶ εἰ τι αὐτοῖς ποιεῖς ἐμο[ὶ] ἐποί-  
 30 ησας· πάντες οἱ ἐνθάδε ἀδελφοὶ πρ[ο]-  
 αγορεύουσιν ὑμᾶς· ἀσπάσαι κα[ὶ] τοὺς σὺν  
 σοὶ πάντας ἀδελφούς ἐκλέκτου[ς] τε καὶ [κα-  
 τηχουμένους·  
 ἔρω σοὶ ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι.

Down the left-hand margin, in brown ink, ? different hand:

34 καὶ εἰ δύνατον σοὶ ἐστὶν τοῖς ἄλλοις γράψαι περὶ [τούτων] μὴ δεικνῆσαι  
 ὅπως προσδέξωνται

35

κατὰ τόπον

Verso Address, along the fibres, same hand and ink as ll. 34-35:

Παῦλος τῷ ἀδελφῷ [ ]κων[ ]

1 There is a distinct tail of a letter below the line, 3 mm. to the right of C. The final letters  
 ν are moderately large 7 ος and 30 struck out with one stroke 12 τ in κατα is altered  
 from c 13 ἀνοιῶι, Pap. 17-18 l. κατείδες 22 σοὶ is crossed out, and there are un-  
 decipherable traces of ink above 28 τ of π altered from α.

'To my lord brother S[erapio]n Paul (wishes) well-doing. A man who has acquired a mirror, or  
 holds in his hand something else of that sort, in which faces are seen represented, has no need of  
 one to tell him, or testify about the character that lies upon him, and his complexion, and his ap-  
 pearance, how it is. For he himself has become a witness by himself, and can speak about his own  
 likeness. And when someone speaks to him, or explains about the beauty and comeliness about him,  
 he does not then believe. For he is not like the rest who are in ignorance, and standing far from the  
 mirror that displays the likeness of all. And it is the same with you my good friend. For as through  
 a mirror you have seen my implanted affection and love for you ever fresh. Now concerning the  
 acquaintances of ours who are bringing down the letter to you, there is no need for me to write,  
 (knowing as I do) your friendship and affection to all, especially towards our brethren. Receive them  
 therefore in love, as friends, for they are not catechumens but belong to the company of Ision and  
 Nikolaos, and 'if you do anything for them, you have done it for me'. All the brethren here salute  
 you. Greet also the brethren with you, both elect and catechumens. I pray you may be strong.  
 And if you can write to the others about (them) don't hesitate, that they may receive them in each  
 place.'

22 [οὐ δέ]σ[ον] suggested by T. C. Skeat instead of [ἀναγκα]ίον.

## MINOR LITERARY TEXTS

**2604.** 24 × 30 cm. On the recto, a document, almost wholly effaced; the few remaining traces are of writing in a practised upright official hand of the third century A.D., written with a very fine pen; at the bottom, some lines in thicker writing; the month name *Μεχειρ* in three of these in succession is almost all that can be made out on this side. It is probably the same scribe who has written on the verso (again with a fine pen) a hexameter line three times; the first in cramped, tall upright letters of 'chancery' type; the second time in similar writing, but a little larger; and finally in large uncial letters, decorated with serifs; the Θ is of an archaic shape, with a central dot instead of a cross-bar. The line might be thought a genuine citation were it not for the fact that it contains every letter of the alphabet; we are therefore probably justified in concluding that it is fictitious, a pseudo-epic line used here as a writing exercise, and somewhat analogous to the pronounceable combinations of letters, embodying some real words, cited and fancifully discussed in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v 8 §§ 46–49 (pp. 357–60 Staehlin): *βεδυζαψχθωμπληκτρονσφυγξ; κναξζβιχθνηπτησφλεγμοδρωψ; μαρπτεσφυγξκλωψζβυχθηδον*; see Lobeck, *Aglaophn.*, pp. 1331 seq.; Bentley, *Epist. ad Millium* (ed. Goold, Toronto 1962), pp. [87] seqq.; the two former are cited in a scholar's exercise of the first century, Wessely *Stud. Pal.* i 2 (1902), p. xlv; see also Beudel, *Qua ratione Graeci liberos docuerint*, p. 14; Ziebarth *Aus d. ant. Schule (Kl. Texte* 65, Bonn, 1913) no. 6 (p. 5). These, however, contain the letters of the alphabet each once only; a closer parallel to our line will have been the fragmentary l. 16 of *dai Papiri della Soc. ital.* (1965) (*Omaggio al xi congresso di pap.*) No. 3 (1st cent. B.C.); cf. the familiar English example 'The quick brown fox jumps over the lazy dog'. (Read with Mr. A. Schachter.)

<sup>1</sup> [βωμον ο γ ημε θεοις ζαμει]ης δε πυρος κεχυ[τ]ο [φλοξ] <sup>2</sup> [β]ωμον ο γ ημε θεοις ζαμειης δε πυρος κεχυτο φλοξ] <sup>3</sup> ΒΩΜΟΝ Ο Γ ΗΨΕ ΘΕΟΙΟ ΖΑΜΕΝ[ΗC] Δ[Ε] ΠΥΡΟC ΚΕΧΥΤΟ ε [ΦΛΟ]ξ

ηψε: for the use, cf. Hdt. viii, 52; Aeschyl. *Ag.* 295.  
κέχυτο φλόξ: cf. *Iliad* xvi 122 seq.: τοὶ δ' ἔμβλον ἀκάματον πῦρ | νηὶ θεῶ τῆς δ' αἶψα κατ' ἀβέεττα κέχυτο φλόξ.

**2605.** 8.2 × 6.5 cm. Third century. A note mentioning *Iliad*, Book II, with a date. Written in a mature and practised cursive hand along the fibres in the top left-hand corner of a small rectangle of papyrus. Evidently a memorandum rather than a *αλληλοσ* (such as 301, 1091, 2396, and 2433).

Γιαδος β  
Μεχειρ [ξ] η

**2606.** 1.8 × 12.3 cm. First to second century. A narrow vertical strip, found rolled from top to bottom. The hand is upright and rather informal, with frequent ligatures. The first line, followed by a space of rather more one line, suggests a heading *Πρὸς τ]οὺς Κοφικ[τάς*. If the fragment is thought to be part of a single work so entitled, more than one might be suggested. The fragments of the treatise of this name by Metrodorus (ed. Koerte, *Jahrb. f. kl. Phil.*, Suppl. xvii (1890), pp. 529–97) do not encourage us to any conclusion. Another and perhaps more likely possibility is Philodemus, who wrote a work whose title began *Πρὸς τοὺς* [; Vogliano conjectured [*Κοφικτάς*; see Philippson, *RE* xix 2465 seqq. The blank lines 10 and 17, however, might be thought to indicate that we have here not a single work but a subject-antology of prose citations. (Read with Mr. R. A. Coles and Mr. W. Campbell.)

<sup>1</sup> ]ουc κοφι. [ <sup>2</sup> (blank) <sup>3</sup> ]εωv δεω[ <sup>4</sup> ]φερειν κ[ <sup>5</sup> ] παραχρη [ <sup>6</sup> ]ων εξω [ <sup>7</sup> ]α τας ψευδ[ <sup>8</sup> ]χρηv π. [ <sup>9</sup> ]νοντω. [ <sup>10</sup> (blank) <sup>11</sup> ] παρα του[ <sup>12</sup> ]ακιc ε. [ <sup>13</sup> ]μενο. [ <sup>14</sup> ]ογοιc δ. [ <sup>15</sup> ]. διαθε. [ <sup>16</sup> ]ταγ[ <sup>17</sup> ]ci' τη [ <sup>18</sup> ]ο αληθ[ <sup>19</sup> ]. ειβ. [

<sup>8</sup> After π: ο or ε? <sup>9</sup> Last letter: α or δ? <sup>12</sup> Last letter: δ, or possibly α or χ <sup>13</sup> Last letter illegible; corrected? <sup>14</sup> After δ: ο? Then θ or c? <sup>15</sup> First letter: ω? <sup>16</sup> ε: corrected to ου, and α added after it, above

<sup>5</sup> παραχρη: frequent in Philodemus, as Lloyd-Jones observes; see Vooyo, *Lexicon Philodemum* s.v.

<sup>14</sup> λήθους, or a compound?

<sup>15</sup> διάθεσιc is frequent in Philodemus (LL-J.).

**2607.** 5.9 × 8 cm. Part of one column from an oneirocriticon, written in a firm, careful sloping book hand of the third century; the verso is blank. To judge from the one section preserved (ll. 5–8), the dreams, with interpretations, are set out briefly and divided by paragraphi. We may compare the extant Egyptian examples in Hieratic (P. Chester Beatty III: Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum 3rd Series* (London, 1935), pp. 9–23) and Demotic (Volten, *Demotische Traumdeutung, Analecta Aegyptiaca* iii (Copenhagen, 1942)) rather than the more discursive treatment to be seen in Artemidorus Daldianus. The dream described here is not paralleled in the Egyptian books; but with *προσουρη* in l. 5 compare the use of the word in Artemidorus iv 44, where several dreams about urination are mentioned; see also Achmes, *Omeiocr.* (ed. Drexel, 1925), pp. 29 seq., 62. (Read with Mr. A. Schachter.)












<sup>1</sup> ... [.]α. [ <sup>2</sup> [ (stripped) <sup>3</sup> [.]ωφ[ <sup>4</sup> δνc. [.]... [ <sup>5</sup> εἰαν προσουρη [αν]δριαντι η εικον[ ] <sup>7</sup> των ιδιων πρα[γμα]των αμελησει <sup>9</sup> εἰαν επανω[ <sup>10</sup> [.]...υτω[ <sup>11</sup> [.]... και τ. [ <sup>12</sup> .....

A few traces on fibres projecting below.

<sup>4</sup> After δνc: π or τε <sup>10</sup> After one letter lost: υ? Next: ο or ρ? Next: γ or π? <sup>11</sup> Last letter: trace, high, joining τ

2608. Fr. (a) 5.3×13 cm. Third to fourth century. Several fragments of very coarse papyrus, all but one joining, written across the fibres in a small, thick, semi-cursive hand. One column from a shorthand manual; tachygraphic signs followed by their resolutions, evidently from the Syllabary or primary part of the book. The order of the items, however, is not that of any extant Syllabary, and although some of the signs are similar to signs to be found in Milne, *Greek Shorthand Manuals*, there are no exact parallels. The differentiation between *ou*-sounds and *au*-sounds, however, is maintained, the former having bars pointing to the right, and the latter to the left. The unattached fragment (b) bears traces of five lines, l. 1 reading ]μηδ[; the rest illegible. (We owe the work upon this text to Mr. R. A. Coles.)

Fr. (a): illegible traces of eight lines; then:

9] ου . [ 10 ]. ου . [ 11 ]  ουπω [ 12 ]  ουδε [ 13 ] . . [ 14 ] . ουκε [ 15 ]  ουδε [ 16 ]  ουδε [ 17 ]  αυ [ 18 ]  ου [ 19 ]  αυμ [ 20 ] .  ουμ [ 21 ] • ρσα [ 22 ] / ουτ . [ 23 ]  ουτ [ 24 ]  ουτ [ 25 ]  ουτ [ 26 ]

11 The sign is not unlike that for ουτω, no. 209 in the Commentary in Milne, op. cit., but ουπω is a more likely reading here.

15 seq. The signs are similar to that for ουδε in Milne 407, though they differ in having strokes and a dot. Cf. also the signs in Milne 410 seq.

17 seq. The signs for αυ, ου are not identical with those for the same combinations in Milne 144 seq., but are similar. Cf. also those for αυ αυ, ου αυ, Milne 286 seq. With the sign for ου, cf. those for ουμ [α], ουμβ [α] in the Syllabary fragment P. Ant. 1, fr. 8 verso (Milne, p. 15).


19 αυμ occurs in this same fragment, but the sign for it is not preserved.

23 seqq. For a word beginning του in the Syllabary, cf. P. Ant. 1 fr. 13 verso (Milne, p. 16).

## MINOR DOCUMENTS

2609. 7.5×8.5 cm. Fourth century. This short letter (little appears to have been lost at the end), which employs a Christian formula of address, informs a recent visitor of the illness of the writer's son, from which he has recovered, and expresses solicitude about the visitor's own health. The writing, which is upright, rounded, and plain, is across the fibres; the verso is blank.

<sup>1</sup> Μηβρωω. [ <sup>2</sup> τῆ κυρία μου ἀ[δελ]φῆ ἐν Κ(υρί)ω . χαίρει[ω]. <sup>4</sup> εἶδενε σε θέλω ὄττι <sup>5</sup> μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν σε <sup>6</sup> ὁ υἱός μου Ἐλενος νεῖνώθραντε δλίγας <sup>8</sup> ἡμέρας· καὶ ἦδη [ε]ῖν Θε- <sup>9</sup> ῶ ἐπαύσατο. δ[ήλω]σεν ὅτι ἡμεῖν καὶ περὶ τῆς σῆς σωματικῆς. <sup>12</sup> α. . . . .  
.....[ . . . . . In left margin: κόμισε τὸν κάκκον.

1 After ω, trace of bottom of upright, a little below the level of the bottom of the preceding letter but not necessarily a tailed letter; it might be ν 3 κω; after this, a sign, almost effaced, which looks like  4 l. εἶδεναι 6 υἱός 6 seq. l. νενώθρανται 8 After καί; δ of normal shape; following η mostly effaced; after lacuna of one letter, ν unlike other examples, with right arm higher than left 9 Small space after ω 12 The line seems to begin with a large α, a little to the right of the last line. Then possibly σ. Margin: l. κόμισαι; κακ'κον

1 Μηβρωω? No such name is otherwise known; the nearest we have found to it is Μηβ in PSI 1429, 10 (6th cent.).

3 After κω, possibly a monogram for Χρ[ιςτῶ]; see textual n.

6 Ἐλενος: not the most likely name for a Christian, unless the choice of it was influenced by the name of Constantine's Empress.

6 seq. νενώθραντε: νεώθρανεν is otherwise unexampled; but cf. νεώθρεν (P. Giss. 17, 6; BGU 449, 4; P. Lond. 144, 3); νεώθρεσθαι (PSI 717, 5; P. Tebt. 421, 5; 422, 5; P. Mich. 477, 36; 479, 7; P. Mert. 82, 14); νεώθρε (P. Brem. 61, 15; PSI 1386, vs. 6); νεώθρα (P. Amh. 78, 15). In P. Mich. 479 the writer expresses anxiety for the health of the departed guest in similar terms, but in that case it is because the guest was unwell when he left.

9 ἐπαύσατο: of recovery from sickness, used absolutely, as in 1299 6 (4th cent.).

12 Probably some part of ἀπάσθεσθαι.

2610. 10.7×13 cm. A fragment from the left side of a column written in a sloping cursive hand of the late third century. It contains a text similar to 2475-7 and BGU 1074 (also from Oxyrhynchus) and reproduces in ll. 2-8 the letter of Severus in 2476 7-11 and BGU 1074, 5-7, that of Severus and Caracalla in BGU 1074, 7-8 only, and that of Alexander in 2476 11-12; BGU 1074, 8-9, supplementing the text of each a little where both of their much more extensive copies are defective. The rest of the text contained copies of correspondence like that in the later parts of the texts mentioned above, from which this has been restored; serious lacunae in these duplicate texts are here indicated by half-square brackets. The nature of this text was recognized by Mr. E. L. Hussey, to whom much of the work on it is due; we are also indebted to Mr. Rea for help.

1 (Trace of ι letter.) . . . περιελη]2[λυθέναι τὴν τῶ]ν ὄλων [κ]η]δεμ[ο]νία]ν καὶ βασιλείαν διὰ ψηφίσματος φανερὰν ποιῆσαι τὴν γνώμην (c. 30 letters) 1 τοὺς βουλόμενος ὅποσα εἴχεται] 3 [ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τῶν] πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀτοκρ[ατόρων δεδομένα ὑμῖν δίκαια καὶ φιλόνηρωπα ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς φιλόπ[α]τος προσαύξεν ἐθέλων καὶ διὰ τιμῆς ἀγειν ἄνδρας μουσικ[ο]ὺς καὶ] 4 [ταῖς πρὸς τὸν] Διόνυσ[τ]ον θρησκ[ε]ίαις ἀνακειμέ[ν]ου[τ]οι. εὐτυχεῖτε. (Rest of line probably blank.) 5 [θεῶν] Ceouήρου] καὶ Ἀντωνίνου. τοῖ[ς] ψηφίσμασι ὑμῶν καὶ πάνυ πεφροντισμένως ἐνετύχονεν ὡς μήτε ὑστερεῖν τι ὑμῖν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων δικαίων μήτε (c. 8 letters) ] 6 [. . . ] τι τῶ]ν ε]κ παλαιοῦ γ]ε]νο[μ]ένων (c. 30 letters) 7 λειον παρ[ε]στ[η]ναι. εὐτυχεῖτε. (c. 30 letters) θεοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου]. 7 [δ]σα θεῶ Ἀντωνίνω πατρ[ε]ϊ] ἐμῶ [καὶ θεῶ Ceouήρω πάππω μου καὶ τοῖς ἄνωθεν προγόνοις ἐκρίθη περὶ ὑμῶν (c. 50 letters) ] 8 πολλάκις ἀπεφηνάμην κύρια [ε]ἶ]ναι οἱ καθ' ἑκάστην πανήγυριν ἀγωνοθέται πειθαρχήσουσιν. (c. 55 letters) ] 9 Ὁξυρυγχεϊτῶν ἀρχοὺς βουλή διὰ [Α]ὐ]ρ[η]λ]λ]ῆ]ο]ν [10 -[τ]ο]ς βουλευτοῦ ἐνάρχου πρ[ε]β]υ]τανέως τῆς Ὁξ]υ]ρυγχεϊτῶν 11 [ο]ἰ]κουμηνικῆ]ς] περιπ[ο]λι]τικῆς μεγάλης κυρ[ε]δου 12 [. . . ] α. . . τι εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἱεράν εἰσοδοὺν [13 [τ]ο]υ]ρ[η]λ]λ]ῆ]ο]ς πρᾶξαι. ἐρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι φίλτατ[ο]ι. 14 μεγίστου εὐσεβοῦς εὐτυχοῦς σεβαστοῦ Φα[ί] 15 ψήφισμα τῆς ἱεράς μ[ε]τροπο]λι]τικῆς μεγάλης εἰσοδοῦ 16 καὶ τῶν το[υ]τῶ]ν συναγω[μ]ιστῶν 17 [. . . . . ἀ]ρ[ε]ξ]οξεν παρ[ε]β]ληθῆναι 18 [. . . . . ἀν]αδοθῆ]ναι . . .

4 [ἀνακειμέ]νου[τ]οι: 2476 10 seq. has: ἀνα]κ. . . [(c. 5). εὐτυχεῖτε]; BGU 1074, 7: ]ε. εὐ[τυχεῖ]τ]. Examination of the former passage confirms the reading ἀνα]κμ]ε].

5 seq. A verb probably followed another μήτε here as ὑστερεῖν does the first.

6 Our conclusion about the spacing of the line is based on the length of the line in BGU 1074.

8 πολλάκις ἀπεφηνάμην: Rea observes that this should be restored in 2476 12.

9 ἀρχοὺς <καὶ> βουλῆ?

13 φίλτατ[ο]ι: cf. (e.g.) BGU 1073, 20.

15 Cf. 2476 34 seq.

16 συναγω[μ]ιστῶν: cf. BGU 1074, 1 and n. on 2476 2.

17 seq. ἀ]ρ[ε]ξ]οξεν παρ[ε]β]ληθῆναι . . . ἀν]αδοθῆ]ναι: cf. 2476 35 seq., where the text is shorter than it evidently was here.

2611. 11 × 19 cm. A.D. 192/3. This document is unbroken only on the left side, though the last surviving line was probably at or near its end. Its width must, to judge from the imperial titles, have been originally about twice as great as now appears, that is, there are about 30 letters missing at the ends of the best preserved lines. It recounts episodes in the career of a successful athlete or Dionysiac artist (cf., e.g., 13, 14, 19). The tone appears to be favourable (7 ἐννοστερ[ε], 15 προπεπονημένον, 22 ἐπικουρίας). διὰ Θεοδώρου, in the last line of the document proper (26), suggests that it was submitted through an intermediary to some official or official group, and the repeated first person plural suggests a letter from some body in support of the athlete's application. For this last, the two most likely bodies are the ἱερά κίνδοδος and the senate of a metropolis. But more than one document may be recited inside this

one (cf. z. n. and such diplas as 2476, P. Lond. 1174). The chief interest of the text is palaeographical because it is securely dated to A.D. 192/3 and written in carefully formed capitals rather taller than they are broad. Though not itself a book hand it may be useful in helping to date book hands. Plate X.

1. . . . . [2 τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τω] 3 οἱ δὲ τῶν κομμάτων [4 εἰς θαυμασιωτατοῖ] 5 νη καὶ ἀξίωμα καὶ α. [6 τῆς ἔστιν τῆς λαμπροτ[η] 7 ἀναγραφῆς ἐννοστερ[ε] 8 ψαντες καὶ τῶν γνησίων τοῦ] 9 μιν παρ' ἡμῶν (1. ἡμῶν) καὶ ἐντεῦθε] 10 νδν ἐπιφανῶς ἀχθέντ[η] 11 πενταετηρικὸν πρῶτον [12 μιν εἰσελαστικοῦ των . . . [13 ἀγωνισάμενος ἐστεφανώθη ος . . . [14 ἠγῆσεν παρὰ τῶν ἀγνωστοῦν . . . [15 μιν αὐτὸν εἶδομεν ἀμείψασθαι [16 ὑπὲρ τῆ τῶν προπεπονημένων] (1. προπεπονημένων) 17 ἐξῆγητ[η] . . . [18 νωυ Σεραπίωνος πολλῶ μὲν πλοῦ] 19 τούτων στεφάνων ἀναδραμαμένω α] 20 ὁ ἡγεμονεύσας συνεχώρησεν Ου. [21 ἐλάττων πλειόνας δὲ καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ στ] 22 τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπικουρίας τῶν εκ. [23 ματων τυχω[μ] . . . ] . . . ιεστν μ. [24 ἀγωνισαμε] 25 η. ὡδου ενα. [26 διὰ Θεοδώρου] 27 (ἔτους) λγ Ἀτοκρά[το]ρος Καίσαρος Λουκίου Αἰλίου Αὐρηλίου Κομόδου εὐσεβοῦς] 28 ἐντυχοῦς σεβασ[τ]οῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μήδικου Παρθικοῦ Καρματικοῦ Γερμανικοῦ] 29 μεγίστου Βρετανικοῦ εἰρηνοποιοῦ τοῦ κόσμου εὐτυχοῦς ἀνικήτου Ῥωμαίου] 30 [\*Ἡρ]ακλέους[

3 κομμάτων suggests the athlete rather than the Dionysiac artist.

6 . . . : this trace suggests α rather than η, but an α of a form not found in the rest of the fragment.

17 ἐξῆγητ[η] . . . : the trace is hardly compatible with—τ[η]α; perhaps there is room for—[ε]λ[α], if not, perhaps—[ε]λ[α] in the same sense.

20 The space and the large O may indicate more than the end of a sentence. Possibly another document begins to be recited here.

25 Ἡρώδου is suitable.

27 seqq. Cf. PSI 1036, 25 seqq. 33rd year = A.D. 192/3. Commodus was killed on 31 Dec. 192, but a later date for this document is possible because of the delay in communication between Rome and Egypt. The celebrations for the accession of Pertinax took place unexpectedly late in Egypt (W. Chrest. 490).

28 ἐντυχοῦς omitted at this point in PSI 1036.

2612. Fr. 2: 22 × 16.5 cm. Between 285 and 290. Two fragments of a report of proceedings before the prefect (Valerius) Pompeianus (for whose dates see Vandersteyen, *Chronologie des préfets d'Égypte de 284 à 395*, pp. 42 seq.), written in an upright official hand on papyrus of good quality. The subject of the debate, the question of finding candidates for the eutheniarchy (for this office see Jouguet, *La Vie municipale*, pp. 324 seqq.; Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, pp. 339 seqq.) is already familiar from two other Oxyrhynchus texts: one, 1252, is evidently contemporary with this, and contains copies of official correspondence, including a letter from the prefect Pompeianus and (on the other side) a petition from the prytanis to an unspecified prefect (in view of the present text probably the same) complaining of the difficulty he is experiencing in

filling the post of eutheniarch. That the problem was no new one is seen from the other, P. Erlangen 18, dated 248, in which the prytanis addresses a meeting of the βουλή on the same subject. **2612** contributes little additional information beyond a hint of clarification of the puzzling phrase in P. Erl. 18, 12: μετὰ τῆς [ὑμῶν χειραγωγίας, which was taken by Schubart (see his n., *Erl. Pap.*, p. 28) to imply some measure of compulsion; it would appear from ll. 3 seq. here to mean something more like 'assistance'. In the Erlangen text there is a suggestion of help of some kind from the prytanis also; so apparently here, but what form this will have taken is unfortunately lost to us by the mutilation of the text in l. 5; we only learn from the candidate himself that a loan is what he does not require. His name is not given; the Dioscorus addressed by the Prefect in fr. 1, 7 seq.; fr. 2, 12 is presumably another speaker.

On the verso, six lines of sums in talents and denarii, each preceded by a date, with a total below. (Read with Mr. R. A. Coles).

Fr. 1: from the left side of a column; beginning and end lost:

<sup>1</sup> .η[ <sup>2</sup> .ε. . [ <sup>3</sup> στητη[ <sup>4</sup> λοῖμφει. [ <sup>5</sup> ζητουμεν. [ <sup>6</sup> γμάτων εἶ. [ ... / Πομπηϊανὸς ὁ διασημώτατος <sup>7</sup> ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου ... Διοσκώ<sup>8</sup>ρω εἶ(πεν)· ἰκα[ν ...

Fr. 2:

<sup>1</sup> (traces only) <sup>2</sup> ... ]δωρο[ (c. 20 letters) τ]ῆν ε[ὑ]θημιρχε[ίαν ... <sup>3</sup> ... / Πομπηϊανὸς ὁ διασημώτατος ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου α]ὐτῷ εἶ(πεν) [.....] μετὰ χειραγωγίας δ[ί]ν[α]ται ἀπ[ ... <sup>4</sup> ... οὐ ... δύνα]μαι τὴν εὐ[θ]ημιρχίαν δρ[ῶ]ν[αι], ἀλλὰ μ[ετὰ χ]ειραγωγίας. / Πομπηϊανὸς ὁ [διασημώτατος ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου ... <sup>5</sup> ... μετὰ] τίνος βοηθείας δύνῃς; ἀπεκρ[ίνατο]· προχρειά[ς μ]ὲν οὐ δέομαι· ἔθος δὲ ἔστιν τὸν πρῦταν[ω]ν ... <sup>6</sup> ... ἔμα]βρυρήσειν σοι καὶ Ἐϋπόρος. / Πομπηϊανὸς [ὁ δ]ιασημώτατος ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου α]ὐτῷ εἶ(πεν)· ... <sup>7</sup> ... δο]κιμάσης. / Πομπηϊανὸς ὁ διασημώτατος ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου α]ὐτῷ εἶ(πεν)· εὐδηλον [ἔστι ... <sup>8</sup> ... ]μολεῖς διακοσίας δύναμαι δοῦναι. / Πομπηϊανὸς] ὁ διασημώτατος ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου ... <sup>9</sup> ... ]εκ' ... α πόσα ἀναλίσκεται καθ' ἡμέραν; [ / Πομπηϊαν]ός ὁ διασημώ[τατος ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου ... <sup>10</sup> ... ἀ]ναλίσκε[τα]ι [(c. 20 letters) / Πομπηϊανὸς [ὁ διασημώτατος ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου ... <sup>11</sup> ... ]. ηκούσας [ (c. 20 letters) ]ουσην ἀρχόντος α. [ ... <sup>12</sup> ... / Πομπηϊαν]ός ὁ διασημώτατος ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου] Διοσκώρω εἶ(πεν)· ὡς δ[ ... <sup>13</sup> ... / Πομπηϊανὸς ὁ διασημώτατος] ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου [ ... <sup>14</sup> ... / Πομπηϊανὸς ὁ διασημώτατος ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου ...

This ends the column.

**2613.** 4.6×6.1 cm. Second century. A question addressed to the oracle of Helios-Sarapis by a lady concerning her prospect of marriage. For other questions about marriage, cf. **1213** and Wilcken, *Chr.* 122; note also **1477** 19. For such documents in general see Schubart, *ZAS* lxvii (1931), pp. 110 seqq.; and for Demotic examples,

W. Erichsen, *Demotische Orakelfragen* (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, II hist.-fil. Meddelelser xxviii 3, Copenhagen, 1942). Written in a clear upright hand along the fibres; the verso is blank. (Read with Mr. R. A. Coles.)

<sup>1</sup> [. . . [ . . . ] . . . ] . . . <sup>2</sup> ρφ[. . .] <sup>3</sup> δέετέ σου Ἄρκανό<sup>4</sup>η <sup>5</sup> εἰ μέλλω συνβιοῦν <sup>6</sup> Διωρίων τῆ ἰα. <sup>7</sup> δός μοι τοῦ[τ]ο.

1 Above the beginning of the line is an unexplained mark 3 l. δέετα

1 seq. Perhaps restore: [Κ]υρίε μου Ἐλίε Σε[ρ]ε[τ]ι.  
5 For the grammatical anacoluthon, cf. **1149**; **1213**; P. Berl. 13300 (Schubart, *Einführung*, p. 368). For εἰ, see Wilhelm, *Archiv* xv (1953), pp. 72 seqq.; Kapsomenos, *Ερευναι* i (1957), p. 334.  
7 δός μοι τοῦ[τ]ο: cf. **1149** 9, note.

**2614–2615.** 6.5×4.5 cm. and 6.9×6.6 cm. respectively. Third century. Each is an order from Didymus, a garland maker, to an employee. (Read with Mr. R. A. Coles and Mr. W. Campbell.)

**2614**, in a crude hand with letters of literary type, is on the verso of a small piece of an account of produce: . . . <sup>1</sup> (traces only) <sup>2</sup> λαχάνου [ <sup>3</sup> σινάπεως [ <sup>4</sup> ἀράκου [ <sup>5</sup> ] . . . ρμβδ . . . [ <sup>6</sup> ] (γίν.) εἰς [ <sup>7</sup> ] κοσκινίας <sup>8</sup> ρ. [ <sup>8</sup> κ]ριθῆς [ <sup>9</sup> ] λαχάνου [ <sup>10</sup> ] . . . The verso text runs: <sup>1</sup> παρὰ Διδύμου <sup>2</sup> στεφανηπλόκου. <sup>3</sup> δός εἰς τὸ πλῆρον (1. πλοῖον) <sup>4</sup> στεφάνια <sup>5</sup> δ . η <sup>5</sup> (ἔτους) ἔγ Μεχίρ κῆ.

**2615**, which is cursively written, is on the verso of another account, concerning water transport; after a column of which traces of the end of one line only remain, the text begins: <sup>1</sup> πλατυπηγίων [ <sup>2</sup> αἰ διαπ( ) διαπ(ορθμεύσεις) (?) δι<sup>2</sup> Ἀπολλ[ <sup>3</sup> ἀνθράκων [ <sup>4</sup> νηπτικο(ῶ) λι(τρ) (ἔ) [ <sup>5</sup> Κερκήσειος (ταλ.) ο// δ[ <sup>6</sup> διεπ( ) (cf. line 2) ζ ο. ] . . . (Κερκήσιος is known as the name of a village in the Arsinoite nome.) Verso text:

<sup>1</sup> π(αρά) Διδύμου. <sup>2</sup> ποίησον στεφάνια ὀβοληρὰ <sup>4</sup> διακόσια <sup>5</sup> [ . . . ] .

<sup>3</sup> ὀβοληρὰ: add lex.; for the formation, see Buck and Petersen, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives*, pp. 312 seqq.  
<sup>5</sup> Superlineation of a numeral?

**2616.** 7.5×9 cm. Third century. A note from Claudianus instructing a subordinate to hand over 500 empty jars for which he has already received the indent. It is written across the fibres, on the verso of part of a document, mostly illegible and of uncertain content, dated in the reign of the two Philips (A.D. 244–9); the year figure is probably a. (Read with Mr. R. A. Coles and Mr. W. Campbell.)

<sup>1</sup> Π[α]ρὰ Κλαυδιανού. <sup>2</sup> ἀπόλυσον τοῖς τοῦ <sup>3</sup> ἀξιολογωτάτου Πισ[τ]ίωγος τὰ φ' κοῦφ[α] <sup>5</sup> ᾧν καὶ τὸ ἐπίσταμ[α] <sup>6</sup> ἔχεις, λαμβάνων τὸ <sup>7</sup> ἐπίσταμα. ἀλλὰ μ[ὴ] <sup>8</sup> αὐτὸν κατάρχησ. <sup>9</sup> ἔρρωσο.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπόλυσον: cf. P. Flor. 123, 2.

## INDEXES

The figures 25 are to be supplied before 32–99, the figures 26 before 00–16. Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. An asterisk indicates that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in the ninth edition of Liddell and Scott, Greek-English Lexicon. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or partly supplied from other sources or by conjecture. A word completely restored in this way is not indexed if it supplements a literary text. If it supplements a document it may be indexed.

## I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

## (a) POETIC TEXTS (2532–36, 2604–05)

- ἀηδών 36 i 30.  
 Ἀθῆνα 36 i 17, 19, 22.  
 Ἀθηναῖος 35 i 8, 9, [17].  
 αἶψα 35 i 13.  
 αἰχμάλωτος [35 i 18].  
 ἄκυρος 36 i 28.  
 ἀλλά 33 i 36 i 16, 17, 26, ii 37.  
 ἄλλος 32 3, 3.  
 ἄμα 36 i 27.  
 ἀμαυροῦν 36 i 4.  
 ἀναδιόνα 36 i 13.  
 ἀνδράς [35 i 5].  
 ἀνὴρ 36 i 18.  
 ἀπό 35 i 13 36 i 4, 14, 25.  
 ἀποκτείνω [35 i 18].  
 ἀπολυθῶν 36 i 3, 11.  
 ἀπολλύνα 36 i 9.  
 ἄπτεν 04 [1], 2, 3.  
 ἄροτος 33 5.  
 Ἄρτεμιδιώρος 36 ii 39.  
 ἀνληκτὴ 36 i 22.  
 ἀλλός 36 i 23, 30.  
 ἀντόροτος [36 i 15].  
 αὐτός 33 6 34 17 36 i 2, 6.  
 αὐτός 34 6.  
 βαΐζεσθαι 36 i 5.  
 βούλεσθαι [36 ii 37].  
 βραχί 34 9.  
 βωμός 36 i 7 04 [1], 2, 3.  
 γάρ 36 i 2, 5, 15, ii 36.  
 γε 36 ii 35 04 [1], 2, 3.  
 γένος 36 i [21], 24.  
 γῆ 36 i 13.  
 γηγενής 36 i 13.  
 γίγας [36 i 14].  
 γίνεσθαι [33 13?] [34 10].  
 γνήσιος 33 5.  
 γόος 36 i 25.  
 Γοργών 36 i [11], [12], 20.  
 Γοράφειν 35 i 10.  
 Δανάη 36 i 5, [12], 16.  
 δέ 33 6, 7 34 5 35 i 18 36 i 7,  
 12, 25, 29, ii 35 04 1, 2, 3.  
 δεδιόνα 33 [3].  
 δῆπουθεν 33 2.  
 διανέσσεσθαι [36 i 27].  
 δόναξ [36 i 29].  
 δράμα 34 5.  
 δύο 33 11.  
 ἐγγυθῶν [33 4].  
 ἐγώ 32 4.  
 εἰδέναι 33 6.  
 εἶνα 33 [1], [1] 36 i 12, ii 36.  
 εἰς 36 i 25.  
 ἐκ 32 3 36 i 16.  
 ἐμαιοτοῦ 33 4.  
 ἐν 36 i, 13, 29.  
 ἐνοι 36 i 12, 27.  
 ἐντρεα [36 i 23].  
 ἐξασπατῶν 32 2.  
 ἐπέλ 36 i 16, 17.  
 ἐπί 33 5 35 i 10.  
 ἐπιδιόνα [33 7].  
 ἐπιφραγιζέω 36 ii 35.  
 ἐράν 33 2.  
 ἐρικλύγκτης 36 i 21.  
 ἐταῖρος 32 2.  
 εὐλαβεῖσθαι 36 i 8.  
 εὐπνοος 36 i 30.  
 Ἐυριπίδης [36 i 29].  
 εὐρίσκεω 36 i 21.  
 Εὐρύδαλα 36 i [20], [25].  
 εὐτρεχέων 36 ii 37.  
 εὐωχεῖν [36 i 2].  
 ἔωκ 36 i 21.  
 ζαμενός 04 [1], 2, 3.  
 Ζεὺς 36 i 15.  
 ζῆτη- 34 12?  
 ἦ 36 i 4.  
 ἦγον 36 i 17.  
 Ἥφαιστος 33 1.  
 θαμά 36 i 27.  
 θεός 36 i 14, 21 04 [1], 2, 3.  
 Θεών 36 ii 39.  
 θεωρεῖν 36 i 10.  
 θυγάτηρ 33 4.  
 Ὑλιάς 05 1.  
 ἴνα 36 i 4.  
 ἰετῶνα [36 i 25].  
 καί 34 13 36 i 3, 4, 9, 11, ii 38.  
 καιρός 33 9.  
 καλλιχόρος 36 i 28.  
 \*καραιοτομία 36 i 9.  
 καρπάλιμος 36 i [21], 24.  
 κατασκευάζειν 36 i 18.  
 καταφύγειν [36 i 6].  
 κεφαλή 36 i 3, 11.  
 κωνός 36 i 4.  
 κρούειν 32 5.  
 λῶος 32 4.  
 λοιπός 34 7.

λυγρός 36 i 1.  
 λυτροῦν [35 i 19].  
 μῦ 33 1.  
 \*μεγαλοκλύγκτης 36 i 21.  
 Μέλας [36 i 30].  
 μέλος [36 i 18].  
 μὲν 33 3, 6 36 i 10.  
 μεταβαίνω 35 i 15.  
 μήτηρ [34 1].  
 μιμῆσθαι [36 i 22].  
 μω 36 i 26.  
 μοῖρα 36 ii 37.  
 μοιριδῶν 36 ii 36.  
 μόριμος 36 ii 35.  
 Μοσχίων [33 10].

ναίειν 36 i 28.  
 νεθρον 32 5.  
 νοθεύειν 34 15.  
 νῦν 33 9.  
 νυκί 33 6.  
 ὄ 33 1, 7, 9 34 2, 5, 13 35 i 10  
 36 i [3], 4, 4, 5, 7, 7, 8, 10,  
 12, 13, 13, 14, 14, 15, 15, 16, 17,  
 18, 19, 19, 20, 20, 21, 22, 23, 23,  
 24, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, ii 35, 36,  
 37, 39 04 [1], 2, 3.  
 Οἰδίπου 36 i 29.  
 ὀπλή 32 4.  
 ὄπιος 36 i 22.  
 ὄς 33 2 35 i 17, 18 36 i 13, 28  
 (τοῦ).  
 ὄσος [36 ii 37].  
 οὐ 33 3 36 i 12, ii 36, 36, 38.  
 οὐτος 33 3, 4 34 12 36 i 2, 12,  
 35.  
 οὕτως [35 i 10] 36 i 3.  
 ὄφρα 36 i 20.

πα 36 ii 36.  
 παῖς 33 5 35 i [8], 9.  
 πάλα 33 2.  
 παρά 36 i 28.  
 παραφύγειν 36 ii 36.  
 παρεχέσθαι 36 ii 32.  
 Παρθένος 36 i 17.  
 παριστάνα 36 i 26.  
 παρφοκτός 36 ii 38.  
 πατεῖν 32 4.  
 πέμπειν 36 i 8.  
 περί 34 14.  
 Περσεύς 36 i 8, 15, 19.  
 Πίνδαρος 36 ii 40.  
 ποδαγρῶν 32 2.  
 ποεῖν 36 ii 35.  
 ποιεῖν 34 11.  
 πολεμεῖν [35 i 14].  
 πόλεμος [36 i 13].  
 Πολυδέκτης 36 i 1, [6], 10.  
 ποταμός 36 i 30.  
 πρεσβυ[τ]-? 34 14.  
 προίξ [33 6].  
 προπύλαιον [35 i 11].  
 πρόσ 36 i [7], 14.  
 πρόσδος 34 4.  
 πρόφασις 32 3.  
 πρώτος [32 2].  
 Πυθιονικῆς 36 ii 41.  
 πῦρ 04 1, 2, 3.  
 πῶς 32 4.  
 Σθενιά 36 i 26.  
 Σιμωνίδης [35 i 2?].  
 σκήπτρεσθαι 32 3.  
 σκληρός 32 4.  
 σοφός 36 i 30.  
 στρατεύειν [35 i 16].  
 εὐ 33 3, 11.

συμβαίνειν 36 i 6.  
 συνεργεῖν 36 i 19.  
 συνέρχεσθαι 36 i 16.  
 σφαιρίζω 32 5.  
 σῶμα [36 i 11].

τάλαντον [33 7?].  
 τε 36 i 1, 27, 29.  
 τέθριππον [35 i 11].  
 τείνειν 32 5.  
 (-)τιθένα 35 i 12.  
 τοιοῦτος [35 i 13].  
 τουτέστιν 36 i 23.  
 τρέχειν 32 5.  
 τρίτος 34 12.

Ὑμέναιος [33 7].  
 ὑμνοποιός 36 i 29.  
 ὑποθλίβειν 32 4.  
 ὑπάμημα 36 ii 41.  
 ὕστερος [35 i 19].  
 φάνα 35 i 12 36 i 12, 17.  
 φάλος [36 i 18].  
 φλόξ 04 [1], 2, [3].  
 φυνκτός 36 ii 36.

Χαιρέας 33 3.  
 Χαλκιδεύς [35 i 7].  
 χαλκός 35 i 11 36 i 27.  
 χεῖν 04 1, 2, 3.  
 χήρα [34 1].  
 χρυσάον [34 2].  
 χρυσός [36 i 15].

ὦς 36 i 9.  
 ὤσπερ 36 2 35.

## (b) PROSE TEXTS (2537–39, 2606–08)

ἀγαθός see ἄριστος.  
 ἀγηλατ- 37 1. 43.  
 ἀδελφός 37 1. 38 38 iv 10, 26.  
 αἰρεῖν 37 1. 41.  
 αἶψα 37 1. 3.  
 ἀκολουθεῖν 38 iv 5.  
 (-)ακούειν 37 1. 25.  
 Ἀλέξανδρος [39 20].  
 ἀληθῆ 06 18.  
 ἄλλος 38 iii 8.  
 ἄμελεῖν 07 8.  
 ἀμφότεροι 37 1. 12.

ἀναβαίνειν 38 iii 14, iv 6, 18.  
 ἀνδριάς 07 5.  
 ἀνὴρ 38 iii 18.  
 Ἀντήνωρ [39 22].  
 ἀντιλέγειν 37 1. 35.  
 Ἀντιφάνης 38 ii 16.  
 ἀπαγγέλλω [39 9].  
 ἀπατεῖν 37 1. 29.  
 ἀπό 37 1. 17 38 ii 11 39 7.  
 ἀποδεκνύνα 37 1. 41.  
 ἀποθησκέω 37 1. 11, 39.  
 ἀποκτείνω 37 1. 8.

Ἀπόλλων 39 10.  
 ἀπολογία 37 1. 2, v. 33, 37.  
 ἀπομιμητής [37 v. 10?].  
 ἀργύριον 37 1. 33.  
 ἄριστος 38 iv 12.  
 Ἀρχέστρατος 37 1. 8.  
 ἄρχιπιπος 37 1. 29.  
 ἀσβεβεῖν 39 11.  
 αἴθερ [37 1. 22].  
 αὐτός 37 1. 12, 14, 22, [35] 38 ii  
 [3?], 17, [21], iv 3, 4 39 13.  
 ἀφικνεῖσθαι 38 ii 13.

βασιλεύς 39 15.  
βιάζεσθαι [37 γ. 3].  
βίος 38 ii 12.  
γάρ 37 γ. 13, v. 2.  
γίγνεσθαι 38 ii 20.  
γίνεσθαι 37 γ. 34, [38?] 38 ii 15, 26, iv 22.  
γνώσκων [39 23?].  
γυνεύς 39 18.  
γραμματεῖον [37 γ. 27?].  
γράφειν 37 γ. 32.  
γυνή [38 iii 23].  
δῆ 37 γ. 9, 14, 15 38 ii 2?, 10, 14, iv 12 39 6, 13.  
Δεραδιώτης [38 ii 6].  
δεκάδιος 37 γ. 15.  
δεῖρο [38 ii 20].  
δῆμος [38 ii 8?].  
διά 37 γ. 36.  
διαβάλλειν [37 γ. 24?].  
διάθεσις 06 [15?].  
διακρούειν 37 γ. 4.  
διαμαρτυρεῖν 37 γ. 27.  
διδασκαλεῖον 38 iv 3.  
διδάκκαλος 38 iv 14, [28].  
διδάσκων 38 ii 4.  
διδόναι 37 γ. 30, 39 39 [4].  
(-)διδόναι 37 γ. 33?  
δικάζειν 37 γ. 40, v. 25.  
(-)δικάζειν 37 γ. [48?], v. 44.  
δικαστήριον 37 γ. 7.  
δικαστής 38 iii [18].  
Διογένης [37 γ. 8].  
Διομήδης 39 12.  
διώκειν 37 γ. 7.  
δοκεῖν 39 15.  
δύναμις 37 γ. 29.  
δύο 37 γ. 20.  
εἶν 07 5, 9.  
εἶναυθό 37 γ. 8, v. 27.  
ἐβδομήκοντα [37 γ. 15].  
ἐγγυῶν 38 ii 18.  
ἐγκάλειν 37 γ. 38.  
ἐνώ 38 ii 25, iii 14, iv 2, 6, 17, [18], 22.  
εἰδέναι 38 iv 12.  
εἰκοσιών 37 γ. 1?.  
εἰκοσατία 37 γ. 10.  
εἰκάν 07 6.  
εἶναι 37 γ. 14 38 ii 5?, 22, iv 10, 22.

εἰς 37 γ. 40 38 ii 14, iii [3] 39 7, 8, 11.  
εἰσάγειν 38 ii 24, iii 2.  
ἔλενος 39 9.  
ἐμπορεῖσθαι [38 ii 9].  
ἐν 37 γ. 1?, 7, 12, 13 38 iv 2.  
ἐξάγειν 37 γ. 46, v. 9.  
ἐξήκοντα 37 γ. 14.  
ἐξήσ 37 γ. 15.  
ἐξουλή 37 γ. 29, v. 7, [9].  
ἐπειδή [37 γ. 21] 38 iii, 17.  
ἐπί 37 γ. 2?, 45.  
ἐπιβάλλειν 37 γ. 18.  
ἐπιδικεῖν 38 ii [1?].  
ἐπίλογος 37 γ. 39.  
ἐπίλοιπος 38 ii 22.  
ἐπιτελής 37 γ. 2?.  
ἐπιτροπείων 37 γ. 37.  
ἐρχεσθαι 39 13.  
ἐτι 38 iii 6, iv 12.  
ἔτος 37 γ. [11], 14, [15], v. 4 38 ii 26.  
Εὐθουκλής 37 γ. 30.  
Εὐθύνους [37 γ. 18, 19].  
Εὐκλείδης 37 γ. 34, 38.  
Εὐρύπυλος 39 [3].  
ἐχειν 37 γ. 3.  
ἐχθρα 37 γ. 36.  
ζημία [37 γ. 22].  
ζῆν 38 iii 9?  
ἦ 38 ii 27 07 6.  
ἦκειν 37 γ. 17.  
ἦλκτα [37 γ. 10?].  
θάλαττα 38 ii 11.  
θάπτειν 39 5.  
θέλειν 37 γ. 26?  
Θεόμνητος 37 γ. 7.  
θεός 39 11.  
θνήσκειν 37 γ. 34.  
θυγάτηρ 38 ii [17].  
ἴδιος 07 7.  
ἱερόν 39 10.  
Ἰππομάχος 37 γ. [44], [45].  
Ἰσοκράτης [37 γ. 22].  
Ἰσχυμάχος 37 γ. 11.  
καί 37 γ. 17, 28, 38, 41, v. 40 38 ii 10, 16, 18, 20, iii 6, 14, iv 1, 6, 13, 14, 17, 24, 25, 26, 28 39 6, 12.

κακτοργία 37 γ. 6.  
κακός 37 γ. [28], v. 22.  
καλέειν [39 15].  
Καλλίας 37 γ. 10.  
Καλλιμάχης 37 γ. 17.  
κατά [37 γ. 6].  
καταδικάζειν [37 γ. 45?].  
καττοργεῖν 37 γ. [8], 9.  
κελεύειν [39 25?].  
κλευσις [39 25?].  
Κίσιος 37 γ. 26.  
κληρονόμος 37 γ. 40.  
κομίζειν 38 ii 19.  
κρίνειν 37 γ. 9, 35.  
κτάσθαι [38 ii 8?].  
λαγχάνειν 37 γ. 42.  
λαμβάνειν 37 γ. [20?] 38 ii 16.  
λέγειν 37 γ. 7, [35], v. 12, 34.  
λήξει 37 γ. 5.  
λόγος 37 γ. 1?, [13], v. 23, [24], 32.  
(-)λογος 06 14.  
Λούκιος 37 γ. 12.  
μαρτυρῶ [37 γ. 4].  
μαρτυρεῖν 38 iii [5], iv 10, 23.  
μάρτυρ 38 ii 27, iii [1], 15, 16, iv 7, 8, 18, 20.  
μέν 37 γ. 13, 15, v. 20 38 ii 7, 23, iv 9, 21.  
μένον 39 14.  
μέντοι 37 γ. 11.  
μετά 37 γ. 5 38 iv 2.  
μηδεῖς [37 γ. 27].  
μήτηρ 37 γ. 4 38 iii [19].  
μυσοῦν [37 γ. 10?].  
μύλις 37 γ. 5.  
μόνον 37 γ. 4.  
νεανίας 37 γ. 13.  
νικᾶν 37 γ. 1?  
Νικίρατος 37 γ. 12, [14].  
Νικίας 37 γ. [18], 23.  
Νικόστρατος [37 γ. 33].  
νόθος 37 γ. 38.  
ξενία 37 γ. 33, 35, 37, 39.  
δ 37 γ. 1?, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 11, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 15, [16], [20], [23], 24, 28, 31, 33, 33, 34, 47, v. 11, [40], 41 38 ii 3, 7, 11, [12], [17], 25, iii [3], [4], [6], 19, iv 2, 4, 13, 14, 17, 24,

[26], 27, 28 39 [4], 7, 9, 11 06 [1?] 07 7.  
Ὀδυσσεύς 39 12.  
οἰκία 37 γ. 43, 45.  
οἶκος [37 γ. 11].  
οἶος 37 γ. 5?  
ὄρκος 37 γ. 5.  
ὄς 37 γ. 12 38 22, iv 16, 21.  
ὄσπερ 38 iv 11.  
ὄστε 37 γ. 10.  
οὐ 37 γ. 12, 21.  
οὐδ 37 γ. 42? 39 14.  
οὐδέ 08 12?  
οὐδέσι 08 15, 16.  
οὐκέτι 08 14.  
οὐν 38 ii 24.  
οὐπω 08 11?  
οὐτος 37 γ. 1, 13 38 iv 9, 11.  
παιδαγωγός 38 iv 4.  
παῖς 37 γ. 11 38 iv 21.  
παρά 37 γ. 27 [39 22] 06 11.  
παράγειν 39 8, [16].  
παραικαθήσει 37 γ. 17, [28], 31.  
παραικαταθήσει [37 γ. 19].  
παρалаμβάνειν 37 γ. 4.  
παρέχειν 38 ii 28, iv 15.  
πάσχειν 37 γ. 5.  
πατήρ 37 γ. 8, 10, 12, 14 38 ii 5, iii 4, iv 17.  
πατρώος 37 γ. 47.  
πέμπειν 38 iv 16 39 5.  
πεντεκαίδεκα 37 γ. 4.

περί 37 γ. 8, 41 38 ii [2?].  
Πηρέλειος 39 6.  
ποιεῖν 37 γ. 28 38 ii 12.  
πράγμα 38 ii 3 07 7.  
πρό 37 γ. 10, v. 34, 38.  
προαιτείσθαι [39 14?].  
προπέμπειν [39 12].  
πρός 37 γ. 23, [29], 36, 44, v. 12, [14], [18] 38 iv 16 06 [1?].  
προσσυρεῖν 07 5.  
πρότερος 37 γ. 32.  
πρώτος 38 ii [2?], [23].  
Πυθίων 37 γ. 32.  
πυρά 39 7.  
Σηλυβρία 38 ii 14.  
σοφιστής 06 [1?].  
στρατεία [37 γ. 17].  
στρατιώτης 37 γ. 16.  
σύ 38 ii [4?], 28.  
συγγενής 38 iii [7], iv 27.  
σύλληψις [39 13?].  
συμπαθεῖν 38 iv 1.  
συμφορητής 38 iv 13.  
συμφωνεῖν 37 γ. 12.  
συνουσιαστής 37 γ. 23, 24.  
ταμίος 37 γ. 20.  
ταραχή 06 5.  
τελευτᾶν [38 iii 19].  
τέλος 37 γ. 2?  
τέτταρες 38 ii 27.  
τις 37 γ. 3.  
τόλιον 38 iii 17, iv 9, 21.

τραπέζις [37 γ. 25?].  
τραπέζιτικός 37 γ. 24.  
τρεις 38 ii 21, [27].  
τριάνκοντα [37 γ. 11].  
τρικαίδεκα [37 γ. 13].  
τρικαιδεκέτης [37 γ. 9?].  
Τρώες 39 4.  
ὕβριζεν 37 γ. 3.  
ὕος 37 γ. 43 38 ii 21.  
ὕπερ 37 γ. 16, 31, v. 8, 23, 43 39 3.  
ὕπὸ 37 γ. [24], 37, v. 3? 38 iii [4], [6], iv 24, 25, 26, 28.  
φάναι 37 γ. 9.  
(-)φάσειν 06 4.  
φάσειν 39 10.  
φίλος 38 ii 15.  
Φιλοστέφανος 37 γ. 36.  
φράτηρ 37 γ. 35, 40 38 ii 25, iii 3, iv [25].  
Χερρώνης 37 γ. 42.  
χίλιος [37 γ. 25?].  
χορηγός 37 γ. 13.  
Χρόνης 39 8.  
χωρίων 37 γ. 31, [33], 46, v. 8, 9.  
φειδ[ 06 7.  
ὄ 38 iii 17.  
ἀνεῖσθαι [37 γ. 35].  
ὄς 37 γ. 20 38 ii 24, iii 2.

## II. EMPERORS AND REGNAL YEARS

## CLAUDIUS

θεός Κλαύδιος 55 I (ἔτ. ἔκτου).  
Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Καίσαρ Σεβαστός Γερμανικός Αὐτοκράτωρ (ἔτ. ια') 82 I.

## HADRIAN

θεός Ἀδριανός 53 II.

## ANTONINUS PIUS

Ἀντωνίνος ὁ κύριος (ἔτ. ιβ') 88 14.  
Ἀντωνίνος Καίσαρ ὁ κύριος (ἔτ. ια') 88 9 (ἔτ. κβ') 89 4 90 5 91 I (ἔτ. κγ') 89 6.  
Αὐτ. Καίς. Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἀδριανός Ἀντωνίνος Σεβ. Ἐὐδ. (ἔτ. ιε') 64 13, 17 (ἔτ. κγ') 90 11.

## MARCUS AURELIUS AND VERUS

Ἀντωνίνος καὶ Οὐῆρος οἱ κύριοι (ἔτ. α') 56 I.  
θεός Ἀδρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος? 53 6.  
θεός Οὐῆρος 53 14.  
ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἀδρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Καίς. 63 51.



## COMMODUS

Αὐτ. Καίς. Λούκιος Αἴλιος Αὐρ. Κόμοδος Ἐὐς. Ἐὐτ. Σεβ. Ἀρμενικὸς Μῆδικὸς Παρθικὸς Σαρματικὸς Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστος Βρεταννικὸς εἰρηνοποιὸς τοῦ κόσμου Ἐὐτ. ἀνικητὸς Ῥωμαῖος Ἡρακλῆς (ἔτ. λγ') 11 27.

## SEVERUS AND CARACALLA

θεοὶ Σευήρος καὶ Ἀντωνίνος 10 5, 7.

## CARACALLA AND GETA

Αὐτ. Καίς. Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀντωνίνος [[καὶ Πούβλιος Σεπτίμιος Γέτα]] Βρεταννικὸς Μέγ. Ἐὐς. Σεβ. (ἔτ. ιθ') 84 22.

## SEVERUS ALEXANDER

Imp. Caes. Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus (a. III) 65 2.

## GALLUS AND VOLUSIANUS

Αὐτ. Καίς. Γαῖος Οὐίβιος Τρεβριανὸς Γάλλος καὶ Γαῖος Οὐίβιος Ἀφίνιος Γάλλος Οὐελαδουμανιανὸς Οὐολουσιανὸς Ἐὐς. Ἐὐτ. Σεβ. (ἔτ. γ') 67 28.

## VALERIAN, GALLIENUS, AND SALONINUS

Αὐτ. Καίς. Πούπλιος Λικίνιος Οὐαλεριανὸς καὶ Πούπλιος Λικίνιος Οὐαλεριανὸς Γαλληγὸς Γερμ. Μέγ. Ἐὐς. Ἐὐτ. καὶ Πούπλιος Λικίνιος Κορνήλιος Καλωνίνος Οὐαλεριανὸς ὁ ἐπιφανέστατος Καίσαρ Σεβαστοὶ (ἔτ. ε') 60 23.

## GALLIENUS

Αὐτ. Καίς. Πούπλιος Λικίνιος Γαλληγὸς Γερμ. Μέγ. Ἐὐς. Ἐὐτ. Σεβ. (ἔτ. ια') 68 24 (ἔτ. ιβ') 86 52 (ἔτ. ιγ') 69 32.

## PROBUS

Πρόβος (ἔτ. δ') 57 2.

## DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN, CONSTANTIUS AND GALERIUS

Διοκλητριανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστοὶ (ἔτ. σ' καὶ ε') 87 II.

Διοκλητριανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς καὶ Κωνσταντίνος καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστοὶ (ἔτ. ιγ', ιβ', ε' and ιδ', ιγ', σ') 78 2, 6.

οἱ πάντα νικῶντες αὐτοκράτορες καὶ οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι καίσαρες 58 2.

ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Μαξιμιανὸς ὁ Καίσαρ 61 15.

## CONSTANTINE AND LICINIUS

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνος καὶ Λικίνιος Σεβαστοὶ (ἔτ. ε', η') 85 21.

ἔτ. [ζ' ?] καὶ ε' 79 3.

Κωνσταντίνος Ἀνυόστεος see Index III.

## CONSTANTIUS, CONSTANS, CONSTANTINUS II

οἱ πάντες ἀνίκητοι Αὐτοκράτορες ( ) τε καὶ Καίσαρες (sic) 71 15.

## III. CONSULS

Grato et Seleuco cos. A.D. 221 65 12.

Juliano et Crispino cos. A.D. 224 65 1, 13.

ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λικινίου σεβαστῶν τὸ δ' A.D. 315 85 1.

Κωνσταντίνου Ἀνυόστεου τὸ η' καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανέστατου Καίσαρος τὸ δ' A.D. 329 70 ii. 3, iii 1.

Φλαυίου Ὁρσου καὶ Πολεμίου A.D. 338 71 22.

## IV. INDICTIONS

ιδ. ιβ' (A.D. 338) 71 8.

## V. MONTHS

Ἀδριανὸς 89 7 90 15.

Ἀθὼρ 64 10, 19 85 22 97 13.

Ἐπεῖφ 54 3 iii 17, 18 66 i II, ii 14 68 29 85 17.

Ἐπίφ see Ἐπεῖφ.

Θόθ 54 3 iii 16, 18 57 2 69 36 86 10, 56 87 12

88 15 93 26.

Μεσορῆ 32 Introd. 10 56 3 60 27 71 23 79 10.

Μεχέρ 66 i 9 82 I 05 2 14 v. 5.

Παῦνι 55 I 66 i 12, ii 17 85 17.

Παχῶν 55 I 67 33 84 24 86 41.

Σεπτεμβρίων (καλανῶν) 61 16.

Τῆβι 86 40.

Φα[ 10 14.

Φαμενώθ 66 i 9, ii 12.

Φαρμοσθ 78 6.

Φαῶφι [69 24] 70 ii 7, [iii 2].

Aug(ustas) 65 II.

Iumias 65 19.

Pauni 65 4.

## VI. PERSONAL NAMES

(br. = brother; d. = daughter; f. = father; gd.-f. = grandfather; h. = husband; m. = mother; s. = son; w. = wife)

Ἄβρις, f. of Αὐρ. Κάλλιςτος 71 3.

Ἀγαθοκλεία, alias Apollonia, d. of Ischyriion 64 3.

\*Ἀγαθος 02 2, 19.

Ἀγαθὸς Δάμων, s. of Potamon 69 26.

Ἀθηνόδωρος, f. of Dioscorus, linen(?)-weaver 86 [4].

Αἴλιος Σεβείνος, ὁ κράτειος ἐπίτροπος Ἐρμού 67 8.

Ἄκύλιος Καπιτωλεῖνος, epistrategus of the Heptanomia 63 1.

Ἄμμ. . . 98 (a) [I], (b) I, 8, trainer.

Ἀμμώνιος, Αὐρ., πραγματευτής of the Oxyrhynchite nome 67 34.

— see Ἀχιλλεύς, Θέων.

Ἀνδρόμαχος, weaver 75 2.

Ἀνδρόνικος 96 I, 24.

Ἀπεθέων 99 2.

Ἀπία see Ἰσιδώρα.

Ἀπολωνάριος 00 7.

Ἀπολλ[ 15 2.

Ἀπολλωνάριον, Aur., d. of Zoilus 66 i 2, 13 ii 2, 6, 18, 19.

Ἀπολωνία 93 1.

— see Ἀγαθοκλεία.

Ἀπολλώνιος, exegetes in office 84 3, 25.

— f. of Apollonius 68 35.

— Aur., s. of Apollonius 68 35.

— see Ἐριγένης.

Ἀρβῆς, agoranomus 82 2.

Ἄρεα, m. of Dionysius 84 4.

Ἀρῶνις, f. of Pasion 82 2.

Ἀροῦντιος, Αὐρ., Ἡρακλειανὸς 67 1.

Ἄρποκρατίων, f. of Dionysius, gd.-f. of Patkous alias Sarapous 84 1.

\*Ἄρριος Εὐδαίμων 59 1, 19.

Ἀρσινόη 13 3.

Ἄρσινά 01 31.

Ἄρ. . . , s. of Nilus 60 16.

Ἀρ(ηλι ) 70 iii (a) 15.

Ἀρρηλία see Ἀπολλωνάριον.

Ἀρρήλιος . . . [10 9].

Ἀρρήλιος see Ἀμμώνιος, Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἀροῦντιος,

Ἀχιλλεύς, Δημήτριος, Δίδυμος, Διογένης, Διό-

κορος, Διοσκοουρίδης, Ἐρμ. . . , Ἐρμίας, Ἡρακλῆς,

Θέων, Ἰέραξ, Κάλλιςτος, Λεωνίδης, Μουνάτιος,

Νεοπτόλεμος, Πολυδεύκης, Χαυρήμιων, Ὠριγένης,

\*Ὠρίων.

Ἀρρηλι[ος] . . . ρος 71 25.

Ἀχιλλεύς, Αὐρ., ὁ καὶ Ἀμμώνιος ὁ κράτειος 68 4.

Βεθαρίων, alias Demetrianus, banker 84 7.

Δημητριάδος see Βεθαρίων.

Δημήτριος, Αὐρ., 70 ii 14, 26.

— see Ἰέραξ.

Δημητριάδος 59 15 82 6.

Διδύμη 89 16.

Δίδυμος 62 7, 9, II 78 7 14 v. I 15 v. I.

— f. of Aur. Didymus 69 4.

— Αὐρ., s. of Didymus 69 4, 36.

Διογένης, ex-agoranomus, ex-gymnasiarch 88 1.

Διογένης, Aur., s. of Sarapammon, ex-exegetes,

senator 66 ii 5, 18.

— f. of Mnesithes (?) 91 7.

Διονύσιος, f. of Patkous, alias Sarapous, s. of Harpocration 84 1, 26.

— s. of [. . .]tion and Areia 84 4.

Διονύσιος, s. of Hermogenes 74 2.  
 — strategus of Apollonopolite 59 1, 18.  
 Διονυσοδωρος, f. of Plouton 63 16.  
 Διόσκορος 76 3 99 15 12 [1 7], 2 12.  
 — f. of Aur. Neoptolemus 67 5.  
 — f. of Pagenes, tow-worker 79 7.  
 — Aur., s. of Athenodorus, linen (?)—weaver 86 4, 32, 56.  
 Διοσκουρίδης, Aur., alias Julianus, ex-gymnasiarch, ex-prytane, senator 85 3, 23.  
 Διόφαντος, f. of Heracleius, gd.-f. of Diophantus [83 2].  
 — s. of Heracleius, gd.-s. of Diophantus 83 1, 12, 26.  
 Δωρίων 13 6.  
 Εισθυρ (= 'Εσθήρ?) 99 21.  
 'Ελενος 99 6.  
 'Επ . . . θ . . . f. of Heracleides 91 13.  
 'Ερμ . . . , Aur., from Antinoopolis 87 3.  
 'Ερμίας, Aur., s. of Ptolemaeus, former ἀγορανόμος 86 2, 6, 31.  
 — steward 88 4.  
 'Ερμογένης, f. of Dionysius 74 2.  
 'Ερως, wine-merchant 76 2.  
 'Εσθήρ (?) see Εισθυρ.  
 Εὔδαμων, praepositus 71 21.  
 Εὔδαμων see Ἄρριος.  
 Εὔπορος 12 2 6.  
 Ζώιλος, f. of Aur. Apollonariion, ex-gymnasiarch 66 i 2, 13 ii 2, 18.  
 — s. of Sarap . . . 91 17.  
 'Ηλίοδωρος, praepositus 61 4.  
 'Ηρακλ . . . 99 36.  
 'Ηρακλᾶς, πρεσβύτερος 97 1, 21.  
 'Ηρακλειανός 99 35.  
 'Ηρακλειανός see Ἰπώντιος.  
 'Ηρακλείδης 93 2, 4, 28.  
 — president for the month 79 11.  
 — royal scribe and deputy strategus (of Oxyrhynchus) 63 18.  
 — s. of Ep . . . th . . . 91 13, 16.  
 — secretary 84 6.  
 — f. of Heracleides 90 1.  
 — s. of Heracleides 90 1.  
 — s. of S . . . . . 89 5.  
 'Ηράκλειος 02 1, 19.  
 — f. of Diophantus, s. of Diophantus, f. (by adoption) of Horion 83 1, 2, 5, 13, 15, 19, 25.  
 'Ηράκλητος, f. of Cephalon 73 2.  
 'Ηρακλής, Ἀβρ., s. of Theon and Tryphas 68 7, 30.  
 'Ηρᾶς, f. of Metrophanes 82 4.

'Ηρᾶς (w.), nurse, sister of Sarapion 63 32, 37.  
 'Ηρκουλιανός 61 1, 22.  
 'Ηρώδης 11 25?  
 Θαῆς 94 16.  
 — m. of Cephalon 73 2.  
 Θατρής, f. of Koulos 60 15.  
 Θεογένης, alias Ladicensus, city scribe 64 1.  
 Θεοδ . . . 99 36.  
 Θεοδώρα 02 5.  
 Θεόδωρος 99 30 01 24 11 26.  
 Θεοφᾶς, s. of Theon 70 iii 5.  
 Θέων, alias Ammonius, ex-gymnasiarch, senator 84 5, 16, 27.  
 Θέων, Ἀβρ. 67 2.  
 Θέων, f. of Aur. Heracles 88 8, 30.  
 — f. of Aur. Leonides 85 5.  
 — f. of Ischyriion 64 6.  
 — f. of Theuphas 70 iii 5.  
 — s. of Theon 90 7.  
 Θράκυλλος, hyperetes 63 24.  
 Θώνιος, f. of Castor 78 4.  
 Θώνιος, f. of Thonis, s. of Thonsios 88 11.  
 — s. of Thonis, gd.-s. of Thonsios 88 10.  
 Θώνσιος, f. of Thonis, gd.-f. of Thonis 88 11.  
 'Ιέραξ 61 1.  
 'Ιέραξ, Ἀβρ., alias Demetrius 67 2.  
 'Ιέραξ, f. of Sarapion 63 3.  
 'Ιουλιανός, Φλαῖνός, logistes 70 ii 8, iii 3.  
 — see Διοσκουρίδης.  
 'Ιουῆτος, s. of Sarapion 74 3.  
 'Ιεῦδαρα, Claudia, alias Apia 66 i 6, 8, ii 9, 11.  
 'Ιεῖων 03 27.  
 'Ισχυρίων, s. of Theon and Agathocleia, alias Apollonia 64 6.  
 — f. of Agathocleia, alias Apollonia 64 4.  
 Καλλίνκος, f. of Pebon (?) 60 16.  
 Κάλλιςτος, Ἀβρ., s. of Aboris 71 3, 24.  
 Καλπούριος 'Ωρίων 68 1.  
 Καπιτωλείνος see Ἰκνίος.  
 Κάτωρ, s. of Thonius 78 4.  
 Κεφάλων 97 [1], 21.  
 Κεφάλων, s. of Heracleus and Thaΐσις 73 1.  
 Κλαυδία see 'Ιεῖδαρα.  
 Κλαυδιανός 16 1.  
 Κλαυδῖος see Φίριος.  
 Κλώδιος Κουλικιανός, praef. Aeg. 58 1.  
 Κοπρῆς 01 1, 34.  
 Κοπρία 00 2, 14, 18.  
 Κουλικιανός see Κλώδιος.  
 Κουλώς, s. of Thatres 60 15.  
 Κύρα (?) 99 24, 27.

Λαδικηνός see Θεογένης.  
 Λαῖτος, strategus of Lycopolite 60 1.  
 Λαμπετος (or -ης?) 96 9.  
 Λεωνίδης, Aur., s. of Theon 85 5.  
 Μαγυλιανός, Φλ., praef. Aeg. 62 6.  
 Μαζμίνα 01 31.  
 Μηβρίων? 09 1.  
 Μητροφάνης, s. of Heras 82 4, 5.  
 Μησίθεος, f. of Sarapion 91 4.  
 Μνησθῆς (?), s. of Diogenes 91 7.  
 Μουνάτιος, Ἀβρ., prytane 69 1.  
 Μωριανός 85 24, βοηθός (?).  
 Νέλος 92 1.  
 — f. of Ακ[ ] 60 16.  
 Νεοπτόλεμος, Ἀβρ., s. of Dioscorus 67 5.  
 Νικόλαος 03 27.  
 Ξένος, charioteer 98 (a) [1], (b) 1.  
 'Ονώφρις, the younger 93 3.  
 Οὐαλεριανός, Φλαῖνός, beneficiarius in the department of the prefect of Egypt 71 1.  
 (Οὐαλέριος) Ποιμηγιανός, praef. Aeg. 12 1 6, 2 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14.  
 Παγένης, s. of Dioscorus, tow-worker 79 8.  
 Παοῦς, weaver 75 2.  
 Παπέριος Καβείνιος, ὁ κράτιςτος 66 i 5, ii 7.  
 Πασιών 16 3.  
 — s. of Harthonis 82 2.  
 Πατκοῦς, alias Sarapous, d. of Dionysius, gd.-d. of Harpocrator, sister of Proclus 84 1, 26.  
 Παῖλος 03 2, 36.  
 Πέβων (?), s. of Callinicus 60 16.  
 Πετσακῆς, s. of Taseus 72 2.  
 Πετρώνιος 62 5 90 8.  
 Πλουτίων, s. of Dionysodorus 63 15.  
 Πολυδεύκης, Aur., s. of Horion, Antinoite 87 1, 13.  
 Ποιμηγιανός see Οὐαλέριος.  
 Ποταμάν, f. of Agathos Daimon 69 27.  
 Πούπλιος [60 4?].  
 Πρόκλος, br. of Patkous, alias Sarapous 84 11, 31.  
 Πτολεμαῖος, banker 84 7.  
 — former ἀγορανόμος, f. of Aur. Hermias 86 2.  
 Σαβείνος see Αἰλιος, Παπέριος.  
 Σαραπ . . . , f. of Zoilus, 91 17.  
 Σαραπάμμων 95 9 96 1.  
 — f. of Aur. Diogenes, ex-exegetes, senator 66 ii 5, 18.

Σαραπάς, slave 64 7.  
 Σαραπιακός 59 5.  
 Σαραπιάς 01 1.  
 Σαραπιάς [32 Introd. 13] 00 1 (03 1, 36?) 11 18.  
 — br. of Heras 63 38.  
 — f. of Iustus 74 3.  
 — s. of Hierax, ἐπιμελητής Σαραπείων φυλών καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν τῆς πόλεως 63 2.  
 — s. of Mnesitheus 91 3, 8, 12.  
 Σαραποῦς see Πατκοῦς.  
 Σεπτήμιος, . . . 69 26.  
 Σερῆνος 62 5.  
 — silversmith 95 1, 12.  
 Σουάνα 99 22.  
 Σπαρτιάτης see Χαρήμων.  
 Στεφανοῦς 59 15.  
 Ταρμ . . . [ 33 Introd. 6.  
 Τασεῦς, m. of Peteaken 72 2.  
 Ταῦρις 99 2, 30.  
 Τρυφᾶς, m. of Aur. Heracles 68 9.  
 Φίλητος 93 1, 28.  
 Φίριος, Κλαυδῖος, praef. Aeg. 68 21.  
 Φλαῖνός see 'Ιουλιανός, Μαγυλιανός, Οὐαλεριανός.  
 Χαρήμων, Aur. Chaeremon, alias Spartiates, strategus of Hermopolite 60 2.  
 Χωσοῦς 62 [5].  
 Ψάις 96 3, 5, 8.  
 'Ωριγένης 95 1.  
 — Aur. Horigenes, alias Apollonius, deputy nomarch of Antinoopolis 60 9.  
 'Ωρίων 62 5.  
 'Ωρίων, Ἀβρ., secretary 66 i 4, 13, ii 6, 19.  
 'Ωρίων, f. of Aur. Polydeuces, Antinoite 87 1, 14.  
 — s. of Ἄρ . . . 89 1.  
 — s. (by adoption) of Heracleius 83 2, 16, 27.  
 — see Καλπούριος.  
 Aurelius see Epagathus, Marsus, Sarapion.  
 Claudius see Herennianus.  
 Epagathus, M. Aurelius, praef. Aeg. 65 6.  
 Herennianus, Tiberius Claudius, deputy prefect of Egypt (?) 65 15.  
 Marsus, M. Aurelius, alias Serenus, f. of M. Aurelius Sarapion 65 7.

Sarapion, M. Aurelius, s. of M. Aurelius Marsus  
alias Serenus 65 9.  
Serenus *see* Marsus.

Theo[ ? 65 18.  
Tiberius *see* Heremnianus.

## VII. GEOGRAPHICAL

## (a) COUNTRIES, NOMES, TOPARCHIES, CITIES, ETC.

Αἰγύπτιος 99 26? (εγυπθίων).  
Αἰγυπτος 58 [1] 62 6 71 2 12<sup>1</sup> [7],<sup>2</sup> [3], [4], 6, 7,  
8, [9], [10], [12], [13], [14].  
Ἀλεξάνδρεια 97 3.  
Ἀντινοεύς 87 2.  
Ἀντινούς πόλις 60 10.  
ἄνω τοπαρχία 88 5 89 1 90 2.  
Ἀπολλωνοπολίτης (νομός) 59 18.  
\*Ἐλλην 54<sup>3</sup> iii 18.  
\*Ἐρμοπολίτης (νομός) [60 2].  
\*Ἐρμού πόλις 97 13.  
Ἐδεργέτις ἢ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν 82 2.  
\*Ἡρακλεοπολίτης (νομός) 82 5.  
Θάσιος 54<sup>3</sup> iii 9.  
Θηβαῖς 82 3.  
Κουκελίτης ἄνω (toparchy of Hermopolite) 60 13.  
Κωίτης (toparchy of Heracleopolite) 82 4.  
λιβός τοπαρχία 91 3.

Λυκοπολίτης (νομός) 60 1.  
Λύκος πόλις 93 7.  
Μέμφις 77 7 82 2, 4.  
θασιτικός 67 20.  
\*Ὄξυρυγχίτης 95 6 10 9.  
\*Ὄξυρυγχίτης (νομός) 66 i [1], ii 1 67 35 70 ii 9,  
iii [3] 71 4 84 29.  
\*Ὄξυρυγχιτῶν πόλις 66 i 2, ii 3 69 3 70 ii 12, iii  
[4] 84 25 [85 4] 86 3 [10 10].  
\*Ὄξυρυγχῶν πόλις 63 4 64 4 67 6 68 9 82 3 83  
3 84 1, [3], 8, 27 88 11 90 1.  
πάγος (ἦ) 71 4.  
\*Ρωμαῖος 66 i 4, ii 4.  
Ψωβητικός 67 14.

Aegyptus 65 5, 6.  
Alexandria ad Aegyptum 65 [5].

## (b) VILLAGES, ETC.

Ἀκάρις 81 ii 22.  
Ἀλαβ[αστρ] 81 ii 22.  
Θέρης 77 3.  
Κερκήσις 15 5.  
Κερούσις 71 4.  
Μέρμερθα 76 1.  
Μονίμου 89 2 90 2 91 7.  
Πέλα 91 3?  
Πῶκος (Hermopolite) 60 13.

Σενεψαῖ 84 10, 29.  
Συναρό 74 1.  
Σκώ 88 6 91 15.  
Χοῖβιν (?) 83 25.  
Ταμμήσις (Heracleopolite) 82 4.  
Ταλαῶ 73 1.  
Τάναϊς 72 1.  
Ταρουθίνου (ἐποίκιον) 75 1.

## (c) MISCELLANEOUS

ἄγνα Ἐῤῥομος (in Euergetis above Memphis) 82 5.  
ἄμφοδον \*Ἐρμαῖον 64 9.  
Ἀπίδειον (-δίου P.) 81 ii 17.  
Ἀπολλωνεῖον [53 27].  
γυμνάσιον [81 ii 6].  
\*Ἡρακλείον [53 26].  
Θέρμαι 69 6.  
Καράβου (ἐδάφους Κ. λεγομένου) 85 8.  
Λαγείον 53 [7?], 7, 10, 13.

Μεγαλίσιος 87 3.  
Νηκεοδ[ ] 82 Introd. 9.  
Νεῖλος 53 25.  
Παυλίσιος 87 2.  
Πέκτυν (περίχωμα) 85 3.  
πραιτάριον 81 ii 23.  
Σαραπίειον 53 [3], 10, 15, 19, [22] 63 6 92 3.  
Σεβαστεῖον 53 12, 14.  
Τυχαῖον 53 3.

## VIII. RELIGION, MAGIC, ASTROLOGY, ETC.

ἀγαθός 56 11 (ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ) 57 1 (ἀγαθῆ τύχῃ).  
Αἰγοκέρως 55 2, [8], 10.  
ἄλεξητήριον 54<sup>1</sup> ii 14, 2 ii 8, 3 iii [9], p. 77 n. 1.  
Ἀμεσία 86 41.  
ἀμῆν (ῥθ) 01 34.  
ἀνατολή 54<sup>3</sup> iii 17, p. 77 n. 1.  
Ἀντίνοος 53 1, 4 (ἐκθέσις).  
Ἀπίδειον (-δίου P.) 81 ii 17.  
Ἀπολλωνεῖον [53 27].  
\*Ἄρης 55 [15] 56 7 57 6.  
ἄστρον (= Κυνός δ. = Σῶθις) 54<sup>3</sup> iii 17.  
Ἀφροδίτη 55 5 56 9 57 4.  
βαθμός 55 4.  
γενεάα 53 14, 17.  
γῆρος (ὄψευς) 54<sup>2</sup> ii 12?  
δεκανός 54<sup>3</sup> iii 15, [4 iii 2].  
Δίδυμοι 55 [15] 56 10.  
Δόνυκος 10 4.  
δοδεκατημόριον 55 [5], [7], 10, 13.  
ἐκθέσις 53 1.  
ἐπίθην 53 10.  
ἐπινίκια 53 6.  
\*Ἐρμαῖον 64 9.  
\*Ἐρμῆς [52 1?] 55 13 56 7 57 7 67 9.  
Ζεὺς 53 1 55 [11] 56 8.  
Ζυγνόν 57 5.  
ἡλιακός 54<sup>3</sup> iii 14.  
ἡλιος 54 p. 77 n. 1?  
\*Ἡλιος 55 [6] 56 5 57 4.  
\*Ἡλιος (Σάραπις) [13 1?].  
ἡμέρα σεβαστή 82 2.  
\*Ἡρακλείον [53 26].  
θεῖος 54<sup>1</sup> ii 17, 2 ii 13, 3 iii 13 58 2 [81 6] 70 ii  
20, [iii 6] 71 15, 18 *see also* Index XI (a).  
θεός 53 6, 11, 14, [17] 54<sup>3</sup> iii [15?], 4 iii 1 55 1  
61 20 95 4 01 5 [09 8] 10 7.  
θεωρία 53 8.  
θρησκεία 10 4.  
θῦεν 53 4, 12, 13, 14 01 10.  
ἴβις *see* πτερόν.  
ἰερεὺς 73 3.

ἰερόν 63 7.  
ἰερός 10 12, 15.  
ἰσπ[ ] 53 13, 20.  
ἰσπικ( ) 53 4.  
\*Ιεῖς, priests of 73 3.  
Καρκίνος 55 11 56 9.  
καταβαίνειν 55 4.  
Κρίον 55 14, 18.  
Κρόνος 55 4, [8] 56 6 57 6.  
Κύριος 09 3.  
Λαγείον 53 [7?], 7, 10, 13.  
Λέων 55 5 56 5.  
λήγειν 55 5, [7], 10, [14].  
μοῖρα 55 2, 6, 8, 11, 15.  
Νεῖλος 53 25.  
οἶκος 55 4, [6], 9, 12.  
ὄριον 55 4, 9, 13.  
οὐρηβηθῆ 54<sup>1</sup> ii 15.  
Παρθένος 56 7 57 7.  
πλάτος 55 3.  
πτερόν (ἴβως Θασίας) [ 54<sup>3</sup> iii 9].  
Σαραπεία 86 42.  
Σαραπίειον 53 [3], 10, 15, 19, [22] 63 6 92 3.  
Σάραπις 92 2 *see* \*Ἡλιος.  
Σεβαστεῖον 53 12, 14.  
σεβαστός *see* ἡμέρα.  
Σελήνη 55 2, 12 56 6.  
Σκορπίος 56 6 57 6.  
σματ [54<sup>1</sup> i 11?].  
σοῦη 54<sup>1</sup> ii 16.  
Σοῦχος 98 (a) [3], (b) 3.  
στηρυγμός 55 [9], 12.  
συναδένειον 54<sup>1</sup> i [10?], 3 iii 15, 4 iii [2?].  
Σῶθις 54<sup>3</sup> iii 15, [4 iii 2?].  
σπαίνωμα 55 [6].  
Ταβρός 55 [6] 56 8.  
Τυχαῖον 53 3.  
τύχη *see* ἀγαθός.  
ὑψωμα 55 [13].  
ὄρα [55 2] 56 4 57 3.  
\*Ὠροκόπος 56 10 57 5.

## IX. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TERMS AND TITLES

ἀγορανομεῖν 69 1 86 [2] 88 1.  
ἀγορανόμος 80 14 82 2.  
ἀγωνοθέτης 11 14.  
αρχ( )? 00 18.  
ἀρχιφοδός 72 1 73 1 74 1 75 1 76 1 77 2.  
ἀρχιδικαστής 63 40.

ἄρχων 10 9 12<sup>2</sup> 11.  
βασιλικός γραμματεὺς (διαδεχόμενος καὶ τὰ κατὰ  
τὴν στρατηγίαν) 63 19 ff.  
βενεφικάριος 71 1.  
βιβλιοφύλακτον 84 21.  
βοηθός 85 24?

βουλευτής 66 ii 5 69 2, 4, 36 84 3, 6, 25, 28 85 4 10 10.  
 βουλή 10 9.  
 γεωμετρία 85 10.  
 γραμματεὺς 84 6 *see* βασιλικός.  
 γραμματεὺς πόλεως 64 2.  
 γυμν(ασιαρχ-) 69 1.  
 γυμνασιάρχων 66 i [2], ii 3 84 5, 28 85 3 88 2.  
 γυμνασιάρχος 53 12.  
 δηληγησίων (delegatio) 61 10, [19].  
 διάγνωσις 97 14.  
 διαδέχεσθαι *see* νομαρχία, στρατηγία.  
 διάταγμα 58 6.  
 \*δωνάτιον (donativum) 61 14.  
 ἐγκτήσις 84 21.  
 εἰρηνάρχος 68 3.  
 ἐξηγήτεια [11 17?].  
 ἐξηγητῆων 66 ii 5 69 1.  
 ἐξηγητής 69 22 84 3, 25.  
 ἑπαρχος Αἰγύπτου 58 1 62 6, 13 71 2 12 1 8, 2 3, [4], 6, 7, 8, 9, [10], [12], 13, 14 *see* ἡγεμών.  
 ἐπιμελητής Σαραπείου φυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐνδρῶν τῆς πόλεως 63 5.  
 ἐπιτολή (δημοσία) 61 5.  
 ἐπιτεράτης 63 1, [53?].  
 ἐπίτροπος Ἐρμού 67 9.  
 εὐθημαρχία 12 2 2, 4.  
 ἡγεμονεύων 11 20.  
 ἡγεμών 68 21 97 [4]; 12 *see* ἑπαρχος Αἰγύπτου.

ἴδιος λόγος (δὲ πρὸς τῷ λ. λ.) 59 9.  
 ἱερεὺς 73 3 84 25.  
 καθολικός 61 8, 11, [18] *see* τάξις.  
 κυριακόν 62 10.  
 κομάρχη 77 2.  
 λογιστής 70 ii 7, iii 3.  
 λογοθ(έτης?) 62 4.  
 μισθωτής 67 3, 11 69 5.  
 νομαρχία (διαδεχόμενος τὴν ν.) 60 10.  
 διοριδείκτης 73 2.  
 πετιτίων (petitio) 61 9, 17.  
 πραιπόσιτος 61 5, 9 71 21.  
 πραιτώριον 81 ii 23.  
 πρόσταγμα 97 15.  
 προτιθέων 97 14.  
 προτανεύων 85 4.  
 πρίτανος 69 2 10 10 12 2 [5].  
 \*εἰλαγιον 61 17.  
 σιτολόγος 88 5 89 [1] 90 2 91 2, 7.  
 σιπένδιον 61 16.  
 στρατη[ 61 12?]  
 στρατηγία (διαδεχόμενος τὰ κατὰ τὴν ε.) 63 10 ff.  
 στρατηγός 59 18 60 1, 2 61 [12?] 66 i [1], ii 1 77 i 84 3  
 τάξις 61 10 (τ. καθολική) 71 1 97 9 (τ. ἐπάρχου Αἰγύπτου).  
 ὑπηρέτης 63 23.  
 praefectus Aegypti 65 6.

## X. PROFESSIONS, TRADES, AND OCCUPATIONS

ἄγροικος 62 4, 12.  
 ἀλείπτρις 98 (b) 9.  
 ἀργυροκόπος 95 12.  
 ἀτεχνος 64 7.  
 γεούχος 85 14.  
 γέρδιος 75 2.  
 γραμματεὺς 66 i 4, 13, ii 6, 19.  
 δούλη 82 6.  
 δούλος 64 7.  
 ἐπιστάτης 86 7, 12, 17, 38, 44 95 8.  
 ἐργάτης 80 9.  
 φιλῶχος 98 (b) 1, 9.  
 λατρός 60 12 63 28.  
 ἱερεὺς 73 3.  
 καμηλάτης 96 14.  
 κεραμεὺς 70 ii 11.  
 κύριος 64 5 66 i [3], ii 3 84 2.

λυοῦφόος 86 [5].  
 μνηστῆρας 79 11.  
 μυροπώλης 70 iii 4.  
 οἰκονόμος 88 4.  
 οὐνέμπορος 76 2.  
 πακτωνοποιός 68 10.  
 πραγματευτής [67 34].  
 πρεσβύτερος 97 21 (τ).  
 ρήτωρ 01 16.  
 σιπῆς (?) 79 9.  
 στεφανηφόκος 14 v. 2.  
 ταχυδρόμος 61 [20].  
 τελώνης 75 3.  
 τροφός 63 32.  
 φαρμακοπώλης 67 6.  
 φύλαξ 77 4.

## XI. WEIGHTS, MEASURES, COINS

## (a) WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

ἀρουρα 32 Introd. 14 58 [5?] 84 10, 11, 29, 30 85 9, 10, 12 01 19.  
 ἀρτάβη 66 i 9, ii 12, 15 88 12, 12 89 5, 6 90 8, 10 91 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 15, 18.  
 ἄρτος 67 18.  
 βῶλος 80 1, 11.  
 γνώμων 66 i 9, ii 12 (μέτρον γνώμωνος).  
 δάκτυλος 54 1 ii 17, 3 iii 13, p. 77 n. 1.  
 ἡμιλίτριον 99 31 (εἰμιλιτριον P.), 34.  
 θεῖος *see* πῆχυς.  
 \*καβειῶν 99 35 (καβειον P.).  
 κεντηνάριον 70 ii 24, [25].  
 κούφον 16 4.

λίτρα 70 iii (a) I–14, (b) I–14 71 10, 12, 21 15 4.  
 μέτρον 67 23 *see* γνώμων.  
 μνᾶ 67 15 80 2, 6, 7 93 5, 18, 21, 24.  
 οὐγκία 99 6 (ονκειας P.).  
 παλαιστή 54 1 ii 17, 2 ii 13, 3 iii 13.  
 πῆχυς 81 ii 12, 26.  
 πῆχυς (θεῖος) 54 1 ii 17, 18, 2 ii 13, 3 iii 13, p. 77 n. 1.  
 πῆχυς (στερεός) 81 i 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, [20], 26, ii [5].  
 στατήρ 93 5, 8, 10, 14, 15, 19.  
 στερεός *see* πῆχυς.  
 τάλαντον 67 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22 80 1 7, 1, 2, 5, 7 15 5.  
 χαῖνις 91 5, 5, 11.

## (b) COINS

δηνάριον 70 iii (a) 12, [13], (b) 8–12.  
 δραχμή 32 Introd. 11 71 13 78 5, 5 79 5, 6 80 3, 3, 8, 8, 9, 12, 13 84 13, 14, 32 86 28, 29, 33 87 7, 8, 15 93 9, 11, 12, 17, 20 97 16, 18.  
 κωνός *see* νόμισμα.  
 νόμισμα (κωνόν ν.) 87 8, 15 00 12 (Πτολεμαϊκόν ν.) 87 6.

\*δβοληρός 15 v. 3.  
 ὀβολός 86 23, 25, 26 93 19.  
 πεντάβολον 93 20.  
 Πτολεμαϊκός *see* νόμισμα.  
 στατήρ 93 14.  
 τάλαντον 70 iii (a) I–14, (b) 6 71 12 80 3, 8 85 12 99 35 00 13.

## XII. TAXES

βαφική 75 4.  
 δημόσια 85 13.

ἐπικεφάλαιον 78 1.  
 ἐπικεφάλαιον πόλεως 79 1.

## XIII. LATIN

ad 65 5.  
 annus 65 [2].  
 apud [65 6].  
 consul 65 1, 12.  
 dies 65 4.  
 esse 65 11, [19].  
 et 65 1, 7, 12.  
 filia 65 17.  
 filius 65 8.

fort . . . 65 16.  
 Idus 65 11.  
 mensis 65 [4].  
 nasci 65 8.  
 pridie 65 11.  
 profiteri 65 8.  
 qui 65 7, 11, 19.  
 se 65 8.  
 suus 65 11.

## XIV. GENERAL INDEX OF WORDS

ἀβιάκωντος 94 13.  
 ἀβιάλλης 93 24.  
 ἄβροχος 84 17.  
 ἀγαθός 02 12.  
 ἀγάπη 03 10, 25.  
 ἄγεις 53 9 61 4 11 10.  
 ἄγνοσίν 00 9.  
 ἄγνοια 03 13.  
 ἄγορ. [?] 70 11 27.  
 ἀγοράζειν 99 13 (αγοραῖο P.), 13, 30, 33 (αγοραῖο P.), 35.  
 ἄγραφος 83 18.  
 ἄγρια 82 5.  
 ἀγωνίζεσθαι 11 13, 24.  
 ἀδελφῆ 99 14, 23, 28, 28 01 I, 34 02 4 09 2.  
 ἀδελφός 59 2, 16, 18 61 I, 3, 4, 22 63 37 84 II, 30 94 1 95 I, 9, II 96 I 99 30, 30 00 6 01 I2 02 I, 3, 7, 8, 18, 19 03 I, 25, 29, 31, 36.  
 ἀεί 03 19.  
 Αἰθήριος (?) 99 26 (εγυπθίων P.).  
 αἰκίλειν 63 33.  
 αἰρεῖσθαι 84 [2], 12, 21.  
 αἰρεσις 62 3.  
 (-)αἰτεῖν 11 I4?  
 αἰτήσις 84 4, 24.  
 αἰτία [69 31].  
 ἀκαταστασία 54 p. 77 n. I.  
 ἀκίνδυνος 85 12.  
 ἀκολουθῶς 67 26 68 17 79 3 [83 26].  
 ἀκούος 63 48 97 8.  
 ἀλήθεια 82 13.  
 ἀληθής 64 16.  
 ἄλυσμα [67 23?].  
 \*ἀλκυωνίδος (unk.) 70 iii (b) 12.  
 ἀλλά 58 4 60 16 63 31 94 8 98 (a) II 99 7 00 13 03 27 12 2 4 16 7.  
 ἀλλοχού 11 21.  
 ἀλλήλων 83 I 86 [I], 51.  
 ἄλλος 60 4, [12] 61 16 63 7 81 ii 18 86 25 91 10 93 20 94 5 97 18 01 26, 32 03 3, 18, 34 11 2.  
 ἀλυκός 67 [21].  
 ἄλων 54 4 iii 7?  
 ἀμαξιατός 81 ii 15, 18.  
 ἀμειβεσθαι 11 15.  
 ἀμεριμνεῖν 00 5.  
 ἀμικθί 86 39.  
 ἀμφοδον 64 8.  
 ἀμφότερος 88 [3], 17.

ἄμμον 70 iii (a) 8.  
 ἄν 85 II (en P.) 86 35.  
 ἀνά 85 12.  
 ἀνάβασις 54 1 ii 17, 3 iii 12, p. 77 n. I 69 18.  
 ἀναγκάζειν 63 21 01 10.  
 ἀναγκαῖος 00 11.  
 ἀνάγκωσις 62 4.  
 ἀναγορεύειν 97 9.  
 ἀναγράφειν 64 8, II.  
 ἀναδείξαι 11 10.  
 ἀναδιδόναι 63 13 66 i 6, ii 8 77 4 [10 18].  
 ἀναεῖν [54 1 ii 5].  
 ἀναεῖσθαι 00 15.  
 ἀνακεῖσθαι [10 4?].  
 ἀναλαμβάνειν 54 1 ii 6.  
 ἀναλίκευεν 12 2 9, 10.  
 ἀνάπανσις 85 10.  
 ἀναπέμπειν 63 II.  
 ἀνατολή 86 13.  
 ἀνατρέφειν 11 7.  
 ἀναφέρειν 61 18.  
 ἀναφορ( ) 33 Introd. 3.  
 ἀναφόριον 97 [3].  
 ἀνέμωσις see ἀνίμωσις.  
 ἄνευ 86 20.  
 ἀνήκειν 86 18.  
 ἀνήρ 54 1 ii 9.  
 ἀνθραξ 15 3.  
 ἀνθρωπος 98 (a) 10, (b) 7.  
 (-)ανθρωπος 54 4 iii 11.  
 ἀνίκετος 71 16.  
 ἀνίμωσις 69 5.  
 ἀντί 33 Introd. 4 80 14.  
 ἀντιγράφειν 95 8 98 (a) 9, (b) 6.  
 ἀντίγραφον 58 I (a), I (a) 84 24.  
 ἀντιδικός 97 6.  
 ἀντιλαμβάνειν 69 29.  
 ἀντίπαλος [54 1 ii 13].  
 ἀντήλικός 69 23, 28.  
 ἀνυπερθέτως 85 18.  
 ἄνω 60 [14] 88 5 89 1 90 2.  
 ἀνώμαλος (?-εν) 54 4 iii 8.  
 ἀξίολογος 68 2 16 3.  
 ἀξιοῦν 63 10 64 10 66 i II, ii 16 02 3, 5, 9.  
 ἀξίωμα 11 5.  
 ἀξιώσις 96 9.  
 ἀξων 32 Introd. 4.  
 ἀπαγορεύειν 69 31.  
 ἀπαδομαι see ἀπάλλεσθαι.

Note. This index omits words in the special indexes

ἀπαιτεῖν 62 9.  
 ἀπαντᾶν 61 [19].  
 ἀπαξ 96 13.  
 ἀπαρτίλειν 97 13.  
 ἀπέχειν 83 15 84 14 87 5.  
 ἀπλοῦς 87 9.  
 ἀπό 33 Introd. 2 53 9 63 4 64 4 66 i 10, ii 13 67 6 68 9 69 22 71 3 80 3 81 ii 22 82 3, 4 83 3, 10 84 5, 9, 10, 20, 27, 30, 31 85 5, 7, 8, 9, 10 86 5, 10, 13 87 4, 5 88 7, II 90 I 92 3 93 7 94 8 97 21 02 13.  
 ἀπογράφειν 66 i 7, ii 10 67 9.  
 ἀπογραφή 66 i II, ii 17.  
 ἀποδεῖν [69 14].  
 ἀποδειξις 62 2.  
 ἀποδιδόναι 66 i 10, ii 13 85 16 86 34 93 27 95 12 01 34.  
 ἀποθηήκειν 54 1 ii 9.  
 ἀποκαθεστῆναι 62 14 [98 (b) 7].  
 ἀποκαταπέθηναι 54 3 iii 12.  
 ἀποκλείειν 54 3 iii 6.  
 ἀποκρίνεσθαι 62 [10] 12 2 5.  
 ἀπολαμβάνειν 85 15.  
 ἀπολείπειν 83 4.  
 ἀπολλύναι 54 1 ii 10.  
 ἀπολύειν 16 2.  
 ἀποστέλλειν 60 12 01 25.  
 ἀποστρατικόν 01 II.  
 ἀπότακτος 84 12.  
 ἀποφαλεσθαι 10 8.  
 ἀποχή 87 9.  
 ἀρακος [14 5].  
 ἀργεῖν 86 35.  
 ἀργία 86 40.  
 ἀ(ρ)γυρ( ) 71 21.  
 ἀργυρικός 85 16.  
 ἀργυρίον 79 5 84 13, 14, 19, 32 85 12 86 32 87 6 00 12.  
 ἀργυρεός (= ἀργυρεός) 71 II?  
 ἀριθμός 55 3.  
 ἀριστερός 82 3, 5.  
 ἀρναβ. . . στωρ (= ἀρναβῶ?) 70 iii (b) 7.  
 ἀρτος 67 18.  
 ἀρχαῖος 54 3 iii 18 55 I.  
 ἀρχεν 55 2.  
 ἀρχή 54 1 ii 3.  
 ἀσθένεια (-ια P.) 54 1 ii II.  
 ἀσθενεῖν 54 2 ii 6? 85 36.  
 ἀσπαδομαι see ἀπάλλεσθαι.  
 ἀσπάλλεσθαι 59 12 93 2, 25 94 12, 16 95 8 99 21, 26, 36, 36 01 33 03 30.  
 ἀσπάλαθος see ἀσφάλανθος.

ἀσφάλανθος (= ἀσπάλαθος) 70 iii (b) 6.  
 ἀσφαλής 98 (a) [9], (b) 6.  
 ἀσχολεῖν 84 8, 15.  
 ἀσχόλημα 67 3, 12.  
 αὐθάδως 63 43.  
 αὐξάνειν 54 2 ii 7.  
 αὐτόθι 83 8 84 14 86 31.  
 αὐτοκράτωρ [58 2] 60 23 64 13 67 28 68 24 69 32 71 16 82 I 84 22 86 52 90 II [10 3] 11 27.  
 αὐτός 32 Introd. 15 54 1 ii 5, 6, 7, 8, [8] 59 5 60 11, 12, [13] 62 8 63 17, 23, 32, 33, 38, 39, 41, 48 66 i 10, ii 6, 13, [19] 68 36 69 10, 24, 29 70 ii 28 71 25 73 3 82 6 83 2, 4, 8, 9, II, 13, 16, 17, 19 84 3, 5, 6, 13, 28, 29 85 5, 17, 21 86 5, 17, 30, 43, 44, 47 87 4 91 6, 10, 10, II 93 22, 23 94 8 96 5, 7 97 [18] 98 (b) 7 99 18, 32, 32, 34, 34 00 8, 15 01 23, 26 02 6, 9, II, 15 03 6, 8, 10, 12, 16, 28 10 12 11 15, 17 12 3, 6, 7 16 8.  
 αὐτότι see αὐτόθι.  
 ἀφθοδος [52 4].  
 βαλανεῖον 69 7 99 31.  
 βάλλειν 93 21, 23.  
 βαρεῖν 96 [10?].  
 βάρος 96 10?  
 βασιλ( ) 33 Introd. 2, [4].  
 βασιλειον [54 2 ii 2?].  
 βασιλεύς 54 1 ii 7, 9, 13, 3 iii 7.  
 βαστάζειν 54 3 iii 12.  
 βδέλλα (= βδέλλιον) 70 iii (a) 9.  
 βεβασιόν 84 18 85 15.  
 βεβαίως 84 19.  
 βλα 63 49.  
 βιβλίον 63 9, 12.  
 βοήθεια 12 2 5.  
 βοῦλεσθαι 84 27 94 II.  
 βραδυτής 69 19.  
 βραχίον [54 3 iii II].  
 Βρεταν(ν)ικός 53 2 84 23 11 29.  
 βρέθειν 93 26.  
 βύσσινος [54 1 ii 14].  
 βῶλος 80 I, II, 11.  
 βωξίον 96 8.  
 γαμβρός 63 17.  
 γάρ 54 1 ii 5 62 12 86 43 95 6 97 II 01 32 02 6, 10 03 8, 12, 17, 26.  
 γε 97 II.  
 γενέθλιον 61 15.  
 γένεσις [57 1?].  
 γένημα 71 7 88 9 89 3 90 4 91 I, 6, 10.  
 γερδενειν (?) 99 5.

Note. This index omits words in the special indexes

Γερμανικός 60 24 68 26 69 34 82 I 86 54.  
 γεωργία 83 23.  
 γεώργιον 83 14.  
 γῆ 84 15 85 13.  
 γίνεσθαι 32 Introd. II 54<sup>3</sup> iii 16 62 3, 14 63 15, 26, 49 66 i [7], 12, ii 10, 17 69 5 80 6 83 13 84 17 85 18 88 12 89 6 90 8 91 5, 9, 11 93 11, 17, 20 94 9 97 [3] [99 34?] 00 4 03 8 14 6.  
 γνώσκων 95 3 96 3 01 6, 8.  
 γνήσιος 11 8.  
 γνώριμος 03 20.  
 γράμμα 61 3 63 41 68 37 70 ii 28 71 26 77 5 96 3 03 21.  
 γραπτός 83 18.  
 γράφειν 68 18, 36 70 ii 28 71 25 87 9 94 II [98 (b) 9] 01 21, 27 03 22, 34.  
 (-)γράφειν 96 [12?], 19.  
 γυνή 99 15 02 7.  
 γυῖμος 81 ii 7.  
 δαι see τε.  
 διαπάνη 98 16.  
 δέ [52 I] 54<sup>1</sup> ii 3, 13, 3 iii 14 55 3 59 5, 8 60 13 61 4, 8, 16, 19 63 18 67 15 [69 17] 70 ii 22, [iii 7] 71 20 83 12, 17, 27 84 13, 16, 24 85 16 86 20, 30, 35, 39 93 3, 11, 26 94 4 95 7 96 5 97 6, 10 00 15, 01 16, 20, 22, 26, 27 03 16, 20 11 3, 21 12<sup>2</sup> 5.  
 δεῖν [03 22].  
 δειπνέειν 92 I.  
 δείσθαι 00 10 12<sup>2</sup> 5 13 3.  
 δέκα 85 9 86 27 88 12 89 5 91 8, 18.  
 δεσκαλος see διδάσκαλος.  
 δεσπότης 61 7, 15 70 ii 2, iii 1 71 16 85 I.  
 δευτέρως 55 [12] 81 i 30.  
 δῆ [69 15].  
 δηλοῦν 66 i 7, ii 10 69 13 86 8, 18, 46 [09 9].  
 δημόσιος 61 5 68 16 84 16 85 13.  
 δημοσίον 63 39.  
 δης (= δῆς) see διδόναι.  
 διά 59 4 61 5, 6, [20], 21 63 9, 40 66 i 4, 13, ii 6, 19 69 9, 19, 30 70 ii 13 83 15 84 6, 14, 21, 21 85 24 88 4 91 2, 7, 8 93 3 94 14 96 3 98 (a) 9, (b) 6 01 26 03 8, 17 10 9 11 26 15 2.  
 διαγράφειν 78 i 79 I.  
 διαδέχεσθαι 60 10 63 19.  
 διάδεχαι 63 25.  
 διαρρίσσειν 83 3.  
 διαρρῆσαι see διέρασαι.  
 διακόσιος 84 13 12<sup>2</sup> 8 15 v. 4.  
 διανύειν 69 11.  
 διαπέμπειν 97 16.

διαπόρθησις (15 2?).  
 διάσπρος 58 I 61 8, 11, 18 62 [6], 13 79 4 12 [1 7], 2 [3], 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, [10], [12], [13].  
 διαστρέλλειν 88 6 89 2 90 3 91 I, 13, 16.  
 διάφορον 66 ii 15.  
 διαφείδεσθαι 70 i [13], ii 21, iii 7 71 17.  
 διδάσκαλος? (δεσκαλον P.) 95 10.  
 διδαχῆ 86 19.  
 διδόναι 62 10 93 16 98 (a) 6 99 31, 34 12<sup>2</sup> 4, 8 13 7 14 v. 3.  
 διέρασαι (διαρρῆσαι P.) 68 16.  
 διέρχεσθαι 69 8 [78 I] 90 5.  
 δίκαιον 66 i [4], ii 4 84 22.  
 \*δικαστηρία (?) 99 17.  
 δίμηρος 97 19.  
 δίδ 64 10.  
 \*διπλαστικός (?) 53 16?  
 διπλοῦς 81 ii 11 84 19.  
 δίσκ 96 13 98 (b) 9.  
 δισκόος 66 i 8.  
 διαχλωμοί 71 13 78 5.  
 δίφρος [32 Introd. 3].  
 δοκεῖν 69 21 94 4 97 16 [98 (a) 10] [10 17].  
 δοκιμάζειν 12<sup>2</sup> 7.  
 δοκός 81 ii 26.  
 δραπέτα see τράπεζα.  
 δρόμος 53 15.  
 δύναμις 69 9.  
 δύνασθαι [96 20] 03 9 12<sup>2</sup> 3, 4, 5, 8.  
 δυνατός 01 31 03 34.  
 δύο 68 15 71 13 77 3 79 7 83 7, 10 85 10 86 24, 28, 30, 42 99 5, 6, 7, 32, 35.  
 δύσις 86 14.  
 δώδεκα 84 II, 30.  
 εἶν 53 5 84 12, 16 97 15 00 10 01 20 02 5, 9.  
 εἶν 54<sup>3</sup> iii 9?  
 εἶναυτοῦ 62 II 66 ii 10 83 4 86 7 03 8.  
 εἰδομήκοντα 66 ii 16 71 10.  
 ἐγγράφειν 70 ii 16, [iii 5].  
 ἐγκαλεῖν 83 11.  
 ἐγκαταλείπειν 58 [5?].  
 ἐγκέσθαι 59 6.  
 εγυπθῆναι see Αἰγύπτως.  
 ἐγχειρῆσαι see χειρῆσαι.  
 εἰός 32 Introd. 5 59 7, 12, 13 61 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 15, 18, 19 62 6, 13 63 13, 15, 25, 26, 31, 32, 45, 48, 51 64 7 66 i 11, 13, ii 16, 19 68 20 69 30 70 ii [2], 13, iii 1 71 5 78 2 84 10, 11, 14, 20, 20, 30 85 1, 16, [19], 21, 24 87 6 88 8 89 3 90 4 93 14, 15, 20, 26 94 4, 7, 12 95 5, 8 96 4, 9, 10, 22 97 5, 7, 8, 16, 18 98 (a) 6, 9, (b) 4, 6 99 1, 4,

Note. This index omits words in the special indexes

9, 21, 30, 30, 30, 32 00 1, 3, 12 01 8, 13, 27, 32, 33 02 I, 3, 4, 8, 13, 14, 18, 19 03 1, 18, 22, 28 09 2, 6, 10 10 3 11 9, 22 13 [1?], 7.  
 εἶδος 85 8.  
 εἶος 66 i 4, ii 4 [67 26] 12<sup>2</sup> 5.  
 εἶ 62 2, 10 99 18, 19, 35 01 20, 31 02 5, 9 03 28, 34 13 5.  
 εἶ see ἦ.  
 εἶδέναι 68 36 70 ii 28 71 26 02 6, 10 09 4.  
 εἶδος 62 8 67 13 71 8 03 7.  
 εἶκοσι 93 10.  
 εἶκοστός 84 9, 31.  
 ἐμιμλῶμαι see ἡμιμλῶμαι (Index XIa).  
 εἶνα see εἶνα.  
 εἶναι 52 I 54<sup>1</sup> ii 5, [8], 12, 13, 2 ii 3, 4, 10?, 3 iii 6, 8, 18 55 I 60 13 61 8 62 8 63 42, 44 64 16 69 17 70 ii 22 71 18, 20 83 26 84 16, 19, 20, 22, 24, 29 85 II, 14 86 10, 37 93 6, 8 97 10 00 15 01 31 02 7, 8 03 5, 13, 16, 22, 26, 34 [10 8] 11 4?, 6, 23 12<sup>2</sup> 5.  
 \*εἰρωνων (unk.) 70 iii (b) 10.  
 εἶς 53 3, 3, 11, 12, 12, 14, 15, 19, 22, 27 54<sup>1</sup> ii [14], 3 iii [11?], 11 55 5, [7], 10, 14, 18 56 3 80 10 83 8, 9, 13, 19 84 9, 32 85 II (see P.) 86 40 92 2 93 13, 16, 22, 23 97 13 99 10, 31, 31, 34, 35, 00 11 10 12 14 6, v. 3 see εἶ.  
 εἶς 54<sup>3</sup> iii 15, [4 iii 2?] [61 14?] 63 22 77 4 83 10 91 9 93 10.  
 εἰσάγειν 01 17.  
 εἰσαίτις see ἰσαίτις.  
 εἰσελαστικός 11 12.  
 εἰσέρχεσθαι 84 9, 31 01 7.  
 εἶ 58 I (a) 60 5 66 i 5, ii 7, 15 71 12 81 ii 12, 26 83 4, 7, 20 84 15, 20 85 9, 10 93 5, 9, 15, 19, 23 [10 6].  
 ἔκαστος 54 p. 77 n. I 58 4 85 II 86 12, 43 95 4.  
 ἐκάτερος 83 7, II.  
 ἐκιδόναι 86 6 93 17.  
 ἐκείνος 60 [11], 12.  
 ἐκλεκτός 03 31.  
 ἐκουσῶς 85 6.  
 ἐκπέμπειν 61 [12].  
 ἐκσκαθῆ 33 Introd. [2], 4, [5].  
 ἐκτελεῖν 86 16.  
 ἐκτίθειν 84 19.  
 ἔκτος 55 I, 4 82 2.  
 ἐλάττων see ὀλίγος.  
 ἐλαφρός 70 iii (a) 5.  
 \*ἐλενδίων 70 iii (b) II.  
 ἐμναυτοῦ 66 i 7.  
 ἐμός 10 7.

ἐμπροθέμιος 67 10.  
 ἐμφέρειν 62 12 69 25.  
 ἐμψυτος 03 18.  
 ἐν 32 Introd. 9 53 7, 10, 13 54<sup>1</sup> ii 3, 9, 12, 2 ii 2, 3 iii 7, 16, [17?], 4 iii 3 55 2, 3, [6], [8], [9], [11], [12], [15] 60 13, 18 62 10 63 50 64 II 71 8, 9, 11, 21 82 2, 5 83 23 84 8, 17 85 7 86 31, 35, 36 88 8 89 3 90 4 92 3 95 10 97 3 98 (a) II 00 4, 10 03 3, 4, 13, 25 09 3.  
 ἐναγχος 59 10.  
 ἐναρχος 69 2 84 3, 25 10 10.  
 ἐνδεῖν 80 5.  
 ἐνδέκατος 82 I.  
 ἐνδομῆναι 63 [35] 83 5.  
 ἐνδρεύειν 00 13.  
 ἐνεταῖν 95 7?  
 ἐνηκον (= ἐνεγκον) see φέρειν.  
 ἐνθάδε 95 4, 7 03 29.  
 ἐναντιός 54<sup>3</sup> iii 7 86 24, 26, 27, 29.  
 ἐνιστάναι 64 10 66 i 9, 10, ii 11, 14 79 2 83 21 85 6 86 11.  
 ἐνὶ 69 7 88 12.  
 ἐνοσπρῆζειν 03 4.  
 ἐνοχος 71 18.  
 ἐνπροθέμιος see ἐμπ-.  
 ἐνταῦθα 60 12 66 i 5, ii 8.  
 ἐντέλλειν 94 2 00 3.  
 ἐντέθειν [11 9].  
 ἐντυγχάνειν 63 8, 17 75 3 76 3 97 7.  
 εἶ 32 Introd. 14 84 10, 29 86 19, 25 91 5, 18.  
 εἶακόσιοι 79 6.  
 εἶάμηνος 86 23.  
 εἶέδρα 81 ii 3?  
 εἶεῖναι 86 48.  
 εἶέρχεσθαι 97 12 01 24 09 5.  
 εἶής 69 29 70 ii 16, [iii 5] 84 17.  
 εἶουσία 84 20.  
 εἶω 99 33.  
 εἶωθεν 69 16.  
 εἶορτή 96 21.  
 εἶορτικός 86 40.  
 ἐπακολουθεῖν 63 28.  
 ἐπακοῦειν 62 5.  
 ἐπάναγκες 85 16.  
 ἐπάναγχος 84 17.  
 ἐπαπέχεσθαι 54<sup>3</sup> iii II.  
 ἐπάνω 83 20.  
 ἐπαρτῶν 71 19.  
 ἐπειδὴν 61 19.  
 ἐπειδή 01 23 (επὶδη P.).  
 ἐπερηγμένως see ἐπαρτῶν.  
 ἐπέρχεσθαι 63 45 69 23.

Note. This index omits words in the special indexes

ἐπερωτῶν 68 22, 33 85 19 86 51, 58 87 9.  
ἐπί 33 Introd. 7 54<sup>3</sup> iii 5, 8 56 II 61 17 62 7,  
9, 15 63 45 64 8 66 i 8, 10, ii 11, 13 70 ii 18,  
iii 6 82 2 84 13, 18 31 85 9 86 9, [11], 19, 20,  
24, 25, 27, 28, 34, 43, 44 91 II 94 10.  
ἐπιβάλλειν 83 16.  
ἐπιδᾶν *see* ἐπειδᾶν.  
ἐπιδικεῖναι 03 15.  
ἐπιδοῦσθαι 85 6.  
ἐποδῆ *see* ἐπειδῆ.  
ἐποιδῶνας 33 Introd. 3 66 ii 20 69 37 71 24 00 9.  
ἐποδοχῆ 85 16, 19.  
ἐπιζητεῖν 71 5.  
ἐπικεῖσθαι 03 6.  
ἐπικουρία 11 22.  
ἐπικρατεῖν 54<sup>1</sup> ii 8.  
ἐπιλε( ) ? 70 i 17, ii 14, 27.  
ἐπιμέλεια 60 II, [15].  
ἐπιπλά 83 5.  
ἐπισημος [54<sup>1</sup> ii 9?].  
ἐπίσταλμα 16 5, 7.  
ἐπίστασθαι 86 48 00 14 03 22.  
ἐπιστάλλειν 59 II 61 [20].  
ἐπιστολή 59 4 61 5 66 i 5, ii 7 97 [16].  
ἐπιτρέπαι 86 16.  
ἐπίτροπος 67 9.  
ἐπιφανής 58 4 60 26 61 7 70 ii 6, iii 2 11 10.  
ἐποικίον 75 1.  
ἐπτά 86 42.  
ἐργάζεσθαι 86 38, 46.  
ἐργον 32 Introd. 9 59 6.  
ἐρέα (?-οἴε) 93 12.  
ἐριον 93 16.  
ἐρχεσθαι 95 5 99 33, 34, 36 01 31.  
ἐρωτᾶν 92 1.  
ἐς 89 18.  
ἐσοπτρον 03 3, 14, 17.  
ἐσχατος [54<sup>3</sup> iii 7].  
ἔσπερος 32 Introd. 4 54<sup>1</sup> ii 6, [8] 83 6, II, [18] 86 24.  
ἔσος 54<sup>1</sup> ii 14, 2 ii 8, 3 iii 9, 16 55 I 66 i 9, II, ii  
12, 14 67 27 68 24 69 8, 10, 32 78 I, 6 79 3, 3  
82 I, 3, 5, 6 84 9, 10, 13, 16, 17, 22, [32] 85 7,  
17 86 9, II 88 9, 13 89 4, 6 91 I 93 27 14  
v. 5.  
εὐ 80 14 61 2 00 2 03 2.  
εὐδελος 12 2 7.  
εὐδοκεῖν 86 42, 57.  
εὐεργέτης 63 47.  
εὐθέως 61 19.  
εὐθους 11 7.  
εὐπρέπεια 03 II.  
εὐρίσκεν 60 II 96 12 01 23.

Note. This index omits words in the special indexes

Εὐσεβής 64 15, 19 67 32 68 27 69 35 84 24 86 55  
90 14 10 14.  
Εὐτυχής 63 50 67 32 68 28 69 35 86 55 10 14  
11 28.  
εὐχέσθαι 59 16 60 21 94 17 95 II 98 (a) 4, [12],  
(b) 3 00 [17] 01 4, 33 02 16 03 33 10 13.  
ἐφορᾶν 63 24.  
ἔχων 54<sup>1</sup> ii 15 63 29 66 i 10, ii 13 67 26, 35 83  
6, 14 84 19, 29 [85 24] 86 31 87 14 88 7 89 3  
90 3 96 6 01 30 03 4 16 6.  
(-) ἔχων 54<sup>1</sup> ii [6], 2 ii 9.  
ἔως 54 p. 77 n. I 85 15.  
  
[εὐχος 98 (a) [6], [7], (b) 4, 5.  
(-) ζητεῖν 12<sup>1</sup> 5.  
ζυγκηπερις (= ζυγγίβερις) 70 iii (b) 4.  
ζυμῶνα 70 iii (a) 14.  
ζυροστασία 80 13, 14.  
ζωγραφεῖν 54<sup>1</sup> ii 14.  
  
ἦ 60 4 71 18 (ει P.) 81 ii 22 83 18, 19 84 19 85  
II 86 36 99 32 (ει P.) 03 3, 5, 10.  
ἡγεσθαι *see* ἡγουμένους.  
ἡγουμένους 81 ii 19.  
ἡδῆ 09 8.  
ἡκειν 59 9.  
ἡλιος 86 13.  
ἡμερ- 32 Introd. 14.  
ἡμέρα 53 5, 8, II 57 3 83 21 86 13, 41, 42 95 4,  
6 09 8.  
ἡμερησίως 86 23, 24, 26, 29.  
ἡμέτερος 03 20, 24.  
ἡμικος 83 [10], [27] 85 10 88 13 91 9.  
ἡμέρ *see* ὑπέρ.  
ἡτοῖ (ἡτη P.) 71 6.  
  
θανα[τ-] ? 54<sup>3</sup> iii 10.  
θανυμάσιος 11 4.  
θέλειν 95 3 01 6 09 4.  
θέμα 88 8 89 3 90 4.  
θεραπεύειν 01 32, 32.  
θέσις 83 2.  
θρόνος 54<sup>1</sup> ii 8, 3 iii 4, 8.  
θυγάτηρ 66 ii [2].  
θύρα 80 16 81 ii [1?], 2?

ἴδιος 54<sup>1</sup> ii 8, 9, 3 iii 8, [II] 55 9, [13] 58 5 59 10  
70 ii 15, iii 5 83 8 93 15 03 9, 28.  
ἰδύωμα 69 9.  
ἰματίζειν 86 15.  
ἰνα 61 10 97 18 98 (b) 7 99 36 (ευνα P.) 01 17,  
32.

ἰνδικεῖν *see* Index IV.

*ic see* *ec*.

ἰεῖσις 84 12.

ἰεος 66 i 10 67 36 83 4, 7 85 25 86 37.

ἰεῶν 80 9.

ἰεῖνος 68 15.

καθαρός (sc. ἄρτος) 96 6.

καθέζεσθαι 53 7, 10, 13.

καθήκειν 85 19.

καθιστάνας 03 14.

καθολικός (adj.) 61 10.

καθορᾶν 03 17.

καθώς 86 47 99 9, 16, 23, 32 00 3.

καί 33 Introd. 4 53 I, 3, 3, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 13, 14,  
15, 15, 16, 18, 19, [22] 54<sup>1</sup> ii 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10,  
[10], II, II, 12, 13, 16, 2 ii 3, 4, 5, 7, 3 iii 4, 6, 8, 11,  
4 iii 6, 10 56 I 58 3, 4 59 3, 6, 7, 9, 12, 14 60  
[1], 2, 4, 5, 9, 10, [16], 16, 24, 25 61 4, [7], 9, 16  
62 5, 5, 5, [7], 8, II, II, 12 63 6, 7, 10, 12, 16, 18,  
20, 21, 27, 31 64 I, 3, 13 65 10 66 i [6], II,  
ii 9, 15, 16, 18 67 2, 2, 2, [30] 68 4, 5, 22, 33  
69 I, 8, 10, 12, 17, 24, 26 70 ii 4, 12, 20, iii [1],  
[4], [6] 71 II, 13, 17, 18, 22 73 3 75 2 77 2,  
4 78 2, 2, 3, 3, 3, 4, 6, 6 79 3, 8 80 13, 16  
81 i II, ii 14 83 2, 5, 5, 6, 6, 6, 7, 9, [II], 13, 14,  
22, 23 84 I, 5, 7, 7, II, 12, 16, 17, 20, 26, 28  
85 2, 3, 4, 7, 17, [19], 21, 22, 23 86 4, 15, 19, 24,  
25, 27, 28, 43, 44, 47, 51, 58 87 3, 9, II 88 2  
90 7 91 7 93 2, 6, 14, 20, 21, 23 94 2, 6, 14, 15  
95 6, 9, 9, 10 96 6, 6, 13, 13, 14, 18, 22 97 5,  
9, 14, 16 98 (a) 7, 8, 8, (κε P. *ier*), (b) 5, 5, 6  
99 6, 7, 20, 22, 25, 27, 28, 31, 31, 36 00 15  
01 8, II, 13, 29, 31, 31 02 6, 14 03 7, 7, 8, 10,  
II, 14, 16, 17, 19, 24, 27, 28, 30, 31, 34 09 8,  
10 10 5, 16 11 5, 5, 8, 9, 21 12 2 6 16 5.

καϊνός 87 8, 15 00 12.

καῖσαρ 58 3 60 23, 26 61 7, 15 63 52 64 13 67  
28 68 25 69 33 70 ii 6, [iii 2] 71 17 82 I  
84 23 86 53 88 10 89 4, 6 90 6, 12 91 2.

κακός 54<sup>1</sup> ii 5.

κάλαμος 70 iii (a) II.

καλάνδαι (calendae) 61 16.

καλεκεῖν *see* καλέμιον.

καλεῖν 54<sup>3</sup> iii 15, 4 iii 2.

καλιγῶν ? 99 31 (καλεκεῖν P.).

κάλλος 03 II.

καλός 54<sup>1</sup> i 18, ii 3, 2 ii 4, 3 iii 8 59 8 95 5 00 10.

κάμων 81 ii 7, 8.

κάμων 96 17 97 6.

καρπός (a) 66 i 10, ii 13 85 14.

καρπός (b) 82 3.

κασία 70 iii (a) 10.

κατά 54<sup>3</sup> iii 18, 18, p. 77 n. I 55 I, 3 59 9 60 [II],  
14 62 14 63 20 66 i 4, [8], ii [3], II 87 7, 25 69  
13 71 13 83 9 84 4, 7, [12], 15 86 12 94 2  
95 4 00 5 01 33 03 12, 35 12 2 9.

καταλείπειν 54<sup>1</sup> ii 7 63 36.

καταλείπειν 53 9.

καταξιοῦν 58 6.

καταρτιεῖς 93 17.

κατασθέναι 62 7, 8.

καταφέρειν 03 21.

καταφεύγειν 63 46.

καταφθάνειν 93 13.

κατέχειν 16 8.

κατηχεῖν 01 15 03 26, 31.

καυμός [54<sup>1</sup> ii 11?].

κε *see* καί.

κελευ- 60 5.

κελεύειν 67 7.

κέλευσις 61 8 79 3.

κεραμικός 70 ii II.

κέραμος 70 ii 12.

κέραμα 98 (b) 7.

κεφαλήν 66 ii 14.

κεφαλή 99 8.

κεφαλῆς [81 ii 19?].

κηδεμονία 10 2.

κίνδυνος 71 19 85 13.

κίων 81 ii 11, 13.

κλαυθμός [54<sup>1</sup> ii 11?].

κλέπειν *see* κλέω.

κληρονομία 63 35.

κληρονομός 63 42.

κλήρος 83 25.

κλήροῦν 83 9.

κλιμάκιον 53 15.

κλίω 92 2.

κοινόν 70 ii 10, iii 4.

κοινός 83 13, 15.

κοινωνικός 84 10, 30.

κόλλα 81 ii 9.

κολλυμβητικός 84 8.

κομίζειν 61 3 96 3, 5 7 09 13.

κόπια 81 ii 8.

κοσκινία 14 7.

κόστος 70 iii (a) 6.

\*κουρτινο- 53 23?

κουφίζειν 80 3.

κράτιστος 63 2 66 i 5, ii 7 67 8 68 6.

κρέας 71 7, 9, II.

κρήνη 14 8.

κρίνειν 62 10.

Note. This index omits words in the special indexes

κρόκη 93 5, 12.  
κρόταφος 54<sup>2</sup> ii 11.  
κτάσθαι 03 3.  
κτείνω 99 5, 7, 32.  
κτῆνος 69 20.  
κύρα? (= κυρία) 99 24, 27.  
κυρία 02 15 09 2 see κύρα.  
κυριεύειν 85 14.  
κύριος 58 6 61 I, 3, 4, 8, II, 17 62 6, 13 63 9, 51 78 2 84 22 85 19, 21 86 50 87 9 88 10, 14 89 4, 6 90 6 91 2 92 2 97 4, 12 98 (a) I, [3], II (b) 3 99 I, 30, 30 00 I 01 5 02 I, 3, 6, 14, 18 19 03 I 10 8 [13 I?].  
\*κῶλος 81 ii 14.  
κωμάζω [53 12].  
κώμη 60 13 71 3 77 3 82 4.  
κωμήτης 68 44.  
κώπη 83 14, 32.  
λαμβάνειν 59 4 86 2I, 36, 39 97 18 99 32 16 6.  
(-)λαμβάνω 12<sup>1</sup> 4?  
λαμπρο- 11 6.  
λαμπρός 68 19 70 ii 12, 12, iii [4], [4] 71 23 85 4, 4.  
λάχανον 14 2, 9.  
λέγειν [58 I] 62 4, 4, 15 85 8 99 9, 12, 14, 16 (λεῖ P.), 17, 23, 31, 33, 35 03 5, 8, 10 12<sup>1</sup> 8, 2 3, [6], 12.  
λείαν see λίαν.  
λειμός see λιμός.  
λειτουργία 71 7.  
λευκαμάτιον 01 32.  
(-)λήμις 12<sup>1</sup> 4?  
λίαν 93 2, 25 (λεῖ P.).  
λίβανος 70 iii (a) 2.  
λίθος 81 ii 17, 20.  
λιμός 54<sup>1</sup> ii 11, 3 iii 6.  
λινοκαλάμη 85 II (νιλο- P.).  
λιτουργία see λειτουργία.  
λίψη 85 0 91 3.  
λόγος 59 10 66 i [8], ii II 86 40.  
λοισπογραφία 83 15.  
λοισός 80 8 86 21.  
μάθησις 86 8.  
(μακρο)πρ(όσωπος)? 82 3, 5.  
μαλάβαθρον 70 iii (a) 3.  
μάλιστα 69 0 03 24.  
μᾶλλον 02 II.  
\*μαμυλίον 98 (a) [6], (b) 4.  
μανθάνειν 66 i [6], ii 8.  
μανοαλλεῖν (= μανουάλεον? manuale) 99 33.

μαρτυρεῖν 03 5 12<sup>2</sup> 6.  
μάρτυς 03 8.  
μαστίχη (-κη P.) 70 iii (a) 7.  
μέγας 54<sup>1</sup> ii 2, 9, 13, 3 iii 3 81 ii 20, 23 99 8, 32 10 II.  
μείγνυσις 68 27 69 34 84 24 86 54 10 14 11 29.  
μέσις 64 10 66 i [11], ii [14] 69 7, 13, 15, 24, 29 70 ii [18], iii 6 85 17 86 10, 19 89 7 90 15.  
μελανός 93 23.  
μελανηρία 67 16.  
μελίχρως 82 3, 5, 6.  
μέλλειν 13 5.  
μέμψεσθαι 95 7.  
μέν 61 3, 17 67 13 69 8 71 8 83 26 86 6, 19, 22 01 3 11 2, 18 12<sup>2</sup> [5].  
μέρος 54<sup>3</sup> iii 7 62 15 83 10, 17, 27 85 9 00 6.  
μέσος 82 3, 6.  
μετά 54<sup>1</sup> ii 13 61 2I 62 [4] 63 38 64 5 66 ii 4 96 4, 8, 22 01 3I 09 15 12<sup>2</sup> 3, [4].  
μεταβάλλειν 67 25 00 II.  
μεταφέρειν 80 10.  
μέτρον 54<sup>1</sup> ii 17, 3 iii [13], [P. 77 n. 1].  
μέτριος 54<sup>2</sup> ii 11 63 12 77 7 83 20 86 14 97 [5] 01 13.  
μή 54<sup>1</sup> ii 15 58 5 68 36 69 13, 25 70 ii 28 71 26 83 11 86 36 00 13 03 34 [16 7].  
μηδέ 69 14 83 12, 17.  
μηδείας 70 ii 21, iii 7 71 17 83 21 99 34.  
μήτηρ 59 15 66 i 3 68 8 72 2 73 2 84 4, 26 99 29 01 3I 02 15.  
μικρός 81 ii 16, 18 99 33 (μικρον P.).  
μῆτος 67 17.  
μηνήσκων 99 33.  
μικρ- 32 Introd. 15.  
μικροποχή 84 18, 22, 27.  
μικτός 86 20, 22, 36.  
μικθῶν [83 25] 84 9 85 6.  
μικθωσις 69 16, 25 83 24, 26.  
\*μικθίδιον 67 18.  
μόλις 69 8.  
μονοπάλιον 67 3.  
μόνος 59 3 63 30 85 6.  
μουσικός 10 15.  
μυράφιον 96 6.  
νειλόβροχος 84 17.  
νεομηρία 97 12.  
νέος 03 10.  
νεώτερος 93 3.  
νικᾶν 58 2.  
νιλοκαλάμη see λινοκαλάμη.  
νομίζω 69 17 10 6.

Note. This index omits words in the special indexes

νόμισμα 87 8.  
νομός 60 14 71 5 84 3, 29.  
νότιος 85 8.  
νῦν 84 21 11 10.  
νύξ 56 [4].  
\*νωθαίνων 09 7.  
νωτιος see νότιος.  
ξένος 54<sup>3</sup> iii 10.  
ξηρός 70 ii 23.  
ξύλαμῶν 84 12.  
δ 32 Introd. 6 33 Introd. 4, 5, 7 52 3?, 4? 53 1, 2, 3, 3, 7, II, II, 12, [12], 13, 14, 15, 15, 19, 22, 26, 27 54<sup>1</sup> ii 3, 5, 5, [6], 7, 8, 9, 10, II, 12, 13, 13, 14, 2<sup>1</sup> ii 2, 3?, 8, 9, 3<sup>1</sup> iii 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, [II?], II, 12, [14], 15, 15, 16, [16?], [17?], [17], 17, 17, 17, [18], p. 77 n. 1 55 1, 3, 4, 5, [7], [9], [10], [12], 13 56 2 58 1, [2], 2, 3, 4, [4], 5 59 2, [6], 9, 9, 10, II, 12, 12, 14 60 1, 2, [3], [5], 9, 10, 10, [11], 13, [14], 14, 18, 26 61 3, 4, 5, [6], 7, [7], 8, 8, 9, 9, 10, 10, 10, 11, 11, [14?], 15, 15, 16, 17, 17, 18, 19, 21 62 2, [2], [4], 4, 4, [6], 6, [6], 7, 7, 8, 9, 10, 10, 11, 12, 12, 12, 13, 13, 13, 13, 14 63 2, 6, 7, 12, 17, 20, 21, 22, 24, 26, 31, 32, 37, 37, 40, 41, 46, 50, 51 64 1, 3, 6, 9, 11, 12, 16 66 1, 2, 4, [5], [6], 6, 7, 8, 8, 10, 10, 10, 10, 11, 11, 11, 3, 4, 6, 6, 7, 8, 9, 9, 11, 11, 11, 13 13, 13, 14, 14, 14, 16 67 2, 7, 8, 11, 12, 12, 24, 25, 36 68 2, 5, 6, 18, 19, 31, 32 69 2, 8, 9, 10, 11, II, 13, 15, 15, 16, 18, 18, 19, 20, 20, 21, 22, 23, 23, 25, 28, 28, 29, 30 70 ii 1, 4, 5, 7, 10, 10 [12], 16, 18, 20, iii 1, [1], 2, [2], [3], 4, 4, [4], [5], 6, [6] 71 4, 5, 8, 14, 15, 16, 18, 18, 23 73 3 77 1, 4, 5, 7 78 1, 2 79 2, 3, 4, 8 80 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11 81 1 15 82 2, 3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 5 83 [2], 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 12, 13, 15, 15, 16, 16, 19, 19, 20, [21], 22, 22, 23, 23, 24, 25, 26, 26, 27 84 1, [1], 3, 3, 3, 4, 5, 5, 6, 7, 8, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 13, 13, 15, 15, 16, 17, 18, 18, 19, 20, 21, 21, 21, 22, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, [32] 85 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13, 13, 14, 14, 15, 16, 16, [17], 18, 19, 21, 23, 25 86 3, 5, 6, 7, 7, 8, 10, 11, 11, 12, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 28, 30, 32, 34, 35, 35, 37, 38, 39, 44, 45, 45, 49, 48, 49, 50 87 2, 4, 9, 15, 15 88 1, 10, 11, II, 14 89 4, 4, 6 90 5, 6, 91 2, 6, 8, 10, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17 92 2, 3, 3 93 4, 4, 4, 9, 9, 10, 11, 12, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 23, 24, 26 94 1, 10, 13, 14, 15 95 1, 3, 4, 8, 9, 9, 10 96 4, 5, 5, 7, 9, 10, 19, 22 97 1, 4, 6, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 19 98 (a) I, [2], [3], [4], [8], (b) 2, 2, 3, 6, [7] 99 1, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 19, 20, 22, 26, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 31, 31, 32, 33, 33, 33, 34, 34, 35, 35, 36 00 3,

4, 6, 6, 8, 14 01 5, 7, 9, 12, 17, 17, 18, 19, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34 02 4, 7, 10, 12, 12, 14, 15 03 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 7, 9, 11, 11, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 21, 23, 24, 27, 29, 30, 34, 36 09 2, 5, 6, 11, 13 10 [2], [5], [6], 10, 12, 15, 16 11 2, 3, 3, 6, 8, 14, 16, 20, 22, 22 12<sup>1</sup> 7, 2<sup>2</sup> 2, 4, 4, 5, [6], 7, 8, 9, [10], 12, [13], [14] 13 6 14 v. 3 16 2, 2, 4, 5, 6.  
δδε 69 15, 18 70 ii 18, iii 6 84 22.  
δθεν 54<sup>3</sup> iii 12.  
οίεσθαι 97 11.  
οικογένης 82 6.  
οικοδομῶν 33 Introd. 4.  
οἶκος 53 2 54<sup>1</sup> ii 9.  
οἰκουμηνικός 10 II.  
οἶνος 96 8 00 4.  
οἰκνεῖν 96 II 03 34.  
οικτω 89 5.  
ὄλιγος 95 6 97 II 09 7 11 21.  
ὄλιχη 67 14, 15 81 ii 10 93 5, 8, 11, 13, 15, 19.  
ὄλοκληρεῖν 96 4 01 4.  
ὄλοκληρία 98 (a) [4], (b) 3 01 28.  
ὄλος 84 13, 32 97 19 10 2.  
ὄμνησεν 64 13 70 ii 20, iii [6].  
ὄμνησις 71 14.  
ὄμογενεῖς 84 30.  
ὄμοιος 64 12 69 24 83 7.  
ὄμοιωσις 03 9, 15.  
ὄμολογεῖν 68 II, 23, 34 69 31 71 14 83 I 84 6 85 19 86 I, 30, 49, 52, 59 87 5, 10.  
ὄμολόγημα 86 50.  
ὄμωσις 60 II.  
ὄνεια see ὄνεια (Index XA).  
ὄνομα [54<sup>1</sup> ii 10?] 78 4 79 6 82 6 01 33.  
ὄνομαζω 54<sup>1</sup> ii 10?, 16.  
ὄνος 77 3 83 7, 10, 10.  
\*ὄνυχιον 70 iii (b) 13.  
ὄπασθαι 84 21.  
ὄπότε 53 5, [8].  
ὄπότε 81 ii 24.  
ὄπτος 69 28 03 7, 34.  
ὄραν 99 36 01 32 11 15.  
ὄρκος 70 ii 21, iii 7 71 15, 18 99 33.  
ὄρμαιν 58 5.  
ὄς 54<sup>3</sup> iii 5 55 1, 5, [7], [10], 13 62 9 63 14, 29 36 66 i 10, [12], ii 13, 17 67 10, [24], 26 68 13 69 19 70 ii 19, iii 6 80 3 82 5, 6 83 6, 9, 14, 24 84 [2], 28 86 11, 35, 36, 36 87 5 88 7 89 3 90 3 91 6, 10 93 6, 8, 9 94 9, 11 98 (a) 10 99 12, 31, 31 (το P. ter) 00 10, 10 03 4 16 5.  
ὄσος 85 II [10 7].  
ὄσπερ 86 30 00 8.  
ὄσπερον 83 6.

Note. This index omits words in the special indexes



ὄσκι 84 22.  
 ὄταν 97 9.  
 ὄτε 03 10.  
 ὄτι 59 5 95 3, 7 96 11, 12 99 13, 16, 24, 33, 35  
 01 7, 9 02 7 09 4.  
 οὐ 63 13, 30 86 48 94 6 96 12 97 6, 10 99 19  
 00 15 03 5, 10, 12, [22], 26 12<sup>2</sup> 5.  
 οὐδέ 97 7 00 8.  
 οὐδέ 63 49 86 48 97 5 01 14, 21.  
 οὐλή 82 3, 5.  
 οὖν 63 43 96 7 97 15 99 14, 23 00 5, 9 02 9 03  
 25 09 10.  
 οὖρα 95 7.  
 οὐρανός 54<sup>1</sup> ii 4.  
 οὐσία [60 19?] 66 i 10, ii 13.  
 οὗτος 54<sup>1</sup> ii [8], 13, 3 iii 16, 4 iii 3 59 3 60 15  
 62 9, 14 63 12 64 11 66 i 11, ii 16 67 36 71  
 13 [83 12] [85 24] 86 37, 43? 96 13 97 [6],  
 10, 15 98 (a) 8, (b) 6 00 5 01 14 [03 34]  
 10 [13], [16] 11 19 13 7.  
 οὗτος 63 43 98 (b) 7.  
 ὄφελον 66 i 8, ii 10 85 15 87 6 00 6.  
 ὄφισ 54<sup>2</sup> ii 12?  
 ὄχομένον 84 12.  
 ὄψις 94 2.  
 ὄψος 52 3?  
 παιδίων 59 12 94 13.  
 παιδική (?) 94 3.  
 παῖς 86 12, 35, 39, 45 91 8 97 17.  
 πάκτων 68 14, 31.  
 παλαῖός 10 6.  
 πάλιν 54<sup>3</sup> iii 11.  
 πανήγυρις 61 3.  
 πάντοτε 98 (a) [4], (b) 3.  
 παρά 59 13, 19 63 3 64 3 66 i 2, 7, ii 2, 9 67 5,  
 10, 68 12 69 4, 9 70 ii 10, iii 4 77 i 82 3  
 83 16 84 14, 20, 26 85 5, [18] 86 32 87 5  
 93 26 95 4 96 5, 7, 14 97 [18] 98 (a) 3, (b) 2  
 01 5, 34 11 9, 14, 22 14 v. i 15 v. i 16  
 [1].  
 παραβαίνειν 86 49.  
 παραβάλλειν [10 17].  
 παραδέχεσθαι 84 17.  
 παραδιδόναι 54<sup>1</sup> ii 7 60 15 71 9 86 45 97 4.  
 παρακατατίθειναι 00 7.  
 παραλαμβάνειν 67 10 68 12, 31 83 8.  
 παραμένειν 86 38.  
 παρατίθειναι 84 21.  
 παρῖνοι 62 4 69 18, 19.  
 παρέρχεται 69 10.  
 παρέρρεσις 83 21.

παρέχειν 62 2, 3 68 13 77 6 86 11.  
 παρηγία 54<sup>1</sup> ii 5.  
 πᾶς 58 2 61 21 63 46 67 24 71 15 83 14, 22 84  
 [19], 20 85 13, 13 86 16 94 15 95 10 96 4, 22  
 98 (a) 5, (b) 4 01 3, 29, 33 03 15, 23, 29, 31.  
 πάσχειν 94 7.  
 πάτημα 70 iii (b) 5.  
 πατήρ 86 12, 16 96 9, 19 99 1, 20 10 7.  
 παθεῖν 09 9.  
 πείθειν 62 11.  
 πέμψεν 61 9 72 i 73 i 75 i 76 2 93 3 96 11, 21  
 98 (b) 4 99 4, 10, 11, 24, 25, 25, 32 01 22.  
 πενταετηρικός 11 11.  
 πενταετής 84 18, 31.  
 πενταετία 84 13, [32].  
 πεντακταίοι 71 10.  
 πέντε 66 ii 16 84 9 86 10.  
 πενήκοντα 90 9, 10.  
 πέπερι see πίπερι.  
 περί 33 Introd. 3 55 4 59 10 63 14, 22, 25, 25, 29  
 69 11 83 12, 12, 17, 25 84 10, 29 94 3, 5, 11  
 96 10, 13 97 15 01 19, 28 03 6, 9, 10, 11, 20,  
 27, 34 09 10.  
 περιάπτειν 54<sup>3</sup> iii 10.  
 \*περίθρονον 32 Introd. 6.  
 περιπολιτικός 10 11, [15].  
 περίχωμα 85 7.  
 πηλιν see πλιόν.  
 πήγχις 82 5.  
 πλιόν (πηλιν P.) 98 (a) 8, (b) 5.  
 πλιωτός 98 (a) [7], (b) 5.  
 πίπερι 70 iii (a) 1.  
 πιπράκειν 82 2.  
 πίσσα 70 ii 23 80 i, 9.  
 πιστεύειν 03 12.  
 πλατυπύγμον 15 1.  
 πλείστον see πολύς.  
 πλείων see πολύς.  
 πληγή 63 34.  
 πληθύνειν 54<sup>4</sup> iii 7.  
 πλήρης 67 25 84 15.  
 πληροῖν 62 8.  
 πλυνθός 81 i [3], ii [24], 25.  
 πλοῖον 80 10 14 v. 3.  
 πλούσιος 54<sup>1</sup> ii 5, 11.  
 ποιεῖν 33 Introd. 2 59 8 60 14 61 5 69 12, 27  
 86 44 95 [3], 5 98 (a) 3, 5, (b) 2, 4 99 18, 18,  
 19, 32 00 11 01 12 03 28, 28 15 v. 2.  
 ποιός see πυρός.  
 πόλεμος 54<sup>1</sup> ii 4.  
 πόλις 53 11 53 4 63 5, 8 64 2, 5 66 i 2, ii 6 67  
 6 68 10 69 3 70 ii 13, [iii 4] 79 2 82 3 83 3

Note. This index omits words in the special indexes

84 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 25, 27, 28 85 [4], 5 86 4, 5  
 87 4 90 [1] 93 7 97 13.  
 πολίτης 58 4.  
 πολιτικός 69 6.  
 πολλάκις 10 8.  
 πολός 54<sup>1</sup> ii 12 69 12 [85 9?] 95 6 96 2, 9,  
 22 98 (a) 2 99 30 01 2 02 17 11 18, 21.  
 πορεύεσθαι 54<sup>3</sup> iii 10.  
 πόρρω 03 14.  
 πορφύριον 99 12, 35.  
 (-)πόρφυρος 67 19.  
 πόσις 12<sup>2</sup> 9.  
 πούς 54<sup>2</sup> ii 10.  
 πρᾶγμα 83 18 01 18.  
 πρᾶξις 84 19 [85 18].  
 πράσσειν 62 9 94 9 00 2 01 15, 20 10 13 see  
 πράττειν.  
 πράττειν 61 2 03 [2] see πράσσειν.  
 πρεσβύτερος 97 21.  
 πρό 01 3 10 3.  
 προαίρεσις 02 12 (προερ- P.).  
 πρόβατον 83 22.  
 προγίγνεσθαι 67 11.  
 προγράψειν 54<sup>3</sup> iii [14], 4 iii [1] 64 16 86 50 91  
 12, 16.  
 προερεσις see προαίρεσις.  
 \*προϊστάνειν 69 22.  
 προκείσθαι 70 ii 27 71 19 79 8 86 58 91 14, 17.  
 προλέγειν 62 10 69 30.  
 πρόνοια 58 2 60 5 00 3.  
 προπάλαος 96 8.  
 προπονεῖν 11 16.  
 πρόσ 59 10 61 9, 10 62 11 63 48 68 16 69 15  
 83 4 84 11, 16, 30 85 6, 14 86 8 95 5, 5  
 97 17 03 16, 18, 23, 24.  
 προσαγορεύειν 59 14 96 22 02 13 03 29.  
 προσδέχεσθαι 03 25, 34.  
 προσδοκᾶν 59 8.  
 προσεῖναι 60 14.  
 προσέρχεται 01 9.  
 προσήκειν 64 12 66 i 12, ii 17 00 3.  
 προσκαρτερεῖν 97 8.  
 προσκύνημα 95 3 98 (a) [2], (b) 2.  
 πρόστασις 62 6, 12.  
 προστάσσειν 61 13.  
 προστάττειν 62 13.  
 προσφωνεῖν 62 14 70 ii 15, 27, iii 5.  
 προσφώνησις 63 27 84 7.  
 πρόσωπον 03 4.  
 πρότερος 32 Introd. 5.  
 προτιθέναι [53 5].  
 προτρέπειν 69 14.

προφορά 62 11.  
 προχρητα 86 32 91 14 12<sup>2</sup> 5.  
 πρόχρησις 83 14.  
 πρώτος 55 [9] 59 3 86 22 11 11.  
 πτωχός 54<sup>1</sup> ii 10.  
 πύλον 81 i [7], ii 17, 19.  
 πυρός 66 i 9, ii 12 68 17 83 6 88 8 (ποι- P.), 12,  
 12 89 3 90 4, 8, 10 91 1.  
 πῶς 01 30.  
 ράκος 54<sup>1</sup> ii 15.  
 ραννύνα 59 6, 16 60 21 62 3 93 25 94 17 95 11  
 96 [22] 98 (a) 12 00 [17] 01 33 02 16 03 33  
 10 13 16 9.  
 ραβασθίον 99 24 (ραβασάθεια P.), 30.  
 \*ραγεωσις (unk.; in genit.) 70 iii (b) 8.  
 ράκος 99 34 09 13.  
 ραννύκιον 70 iii (a) 13.  
 ραφήλειναι 03 10.  
 ρεαντόν 84 21 00 9.  
 ρεβμάσις 71 15.  
 ρεβαστός 64 15, 19 67 32 68 28 69 35 78 4  
 82 1, 2 84 24 85 2, 22 86 55 87 12 90 14  
 10 14 [11 28].  
 ρημεῖον 77 8 78 7 79 12 89 8.  
 ρήμερον 66 i 5, ii 8.  
 ρεθνοῖν 54<sup>2</sup> ii 6?  
 ρεθνοῖς 81 ii 10.  
 ρίσις [14 3].  
 ριπτεῖον 99 20.  
 ρεθός 83 5.  
 ρήκη 63 8.  
 ρμήνα see ἑμύνα.  
 ρόλον 99 31 (ρολογία P.).  
 ρός 00 14 09 11.  
 ροανίζειν 69 20.  
 ροάριον 93 22.  
 ροείρειν [84 11].  
 ροένδειν 54<sup>1</sup> ii 16.  
 ρορά 85 11.  
 ρορός 54<sup>1</sup> ii 3.  
 ρουδαίος 02 10.  
 ρουδίη 58 3.  
 ρουβός 80 4, 13, 15.  
 ρεγύη 81 i 30, ii 24.  
 ρεφάνιον 14 v. 4 15 v. 2.  
 ρεφάνος 11 19.  
 ρεφανοῖν 11 13.  
 ρετήμιον 93 7, 9, 26.  
 ρουά 81 i 15, ii 11.  
 ρουλή 93 4, 24.

Note. This index omits words in the special indexes

- (-)ετολλέω 54<sup>2</sup> ii 12.  
ετοργή 03 19, [24].  
\*ετρογγυλίσκος? 81 i [17], [20].  
ετρογγύλος 81 i [17?], [29?].  
ετυπητήρια 67 4, 13.  
ετυράκιον 99 6.  
ετύραξ 70 iii (a) 4, 5.  
εύ 54<sup>3</sup> iii ii 59 4, 9, 12, 13, 16 60 14, 15, [21] 61 3, 20 62 8, 9 63 9, 10, 45, 45 66 i 5, ii 8 68 13 69 17, 21 77 5 84 9, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 19, 20 85 14, 18 87 5, 10 92 i 93 2, 3, 25 94 2, 4, 5, 6, 12, 13, 14 95 3, 3, 7, ii 96 3, 4, 11, 13, 14 97 6, 16, 17 98 (a) 3, 4, 10, [12], (b) 2, 3 99 ii, 22, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 35, 36, 36, 36 00 4, 7, [17] 01 4, 6, 21, 22, 25, 29, 31, 33 02 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 16 03 16, 18, 21, 22, 23, 30, 31, 33, 34 09 4, 5 10 13 12<sup>2</sup> 6 13 3.  
εὐγκριεῖς 80 14.  
εὐχωρεῖν 11 20.  
εὐλλαμβάνειν [54<sup>2</sup> ii 5?].  
εὐλλήσις [54<sup>2</sup> ii 5?].  
εὐβάλλειν 02 3, 8.  
εὐβίος 59 12 99 36.  
εὐμβιόων 13 5.  
εὐμβολον 87 27.  
εὐμβουλεύειν 94 6.  
εὐμπίθειν [83 8?].  
εὐμφέρειν 94 10.  
(-)εὐμφορος 54<sup>4</sup> iii 6.  
εὐμφωνεῖν 54<sup>4</sup> iii 5.  
εὐμφωνία 59 11.  
εὐμφωνος [54<sup>3</sup> iii 16?].  
εὐν 68 14, 32 81 ii 12? 03 30 [09 8].  
εὐναγωνιστής [10 16].  
εὐνεργον 93 4.  
εὐνήθεσθαι 59 7.  
εὐνιστάται 86 ii 4.  
εὐνικριεῖς *see* εὐγκριεῖς.  
εὐνοδος 10 [11], 12.  
εὐνορᾶν 69 17.  
εὐρηγξ 93 6.  
\*εὐράκιον 70 iii (b) 9.  
εὐραϊκόν 93 8 (εὐραϊεα P.).  
εὐρηδίων 96 5.  
εὐριστός 67 15.  
εὐρίων 59 7 61 20.  
εὐρύμα 11 3.  
εὐματίζειν 71 6.  
\*εὐωράκιον 80 16.  
εὐωτήρ 63 47.  
εὐωτηρία 09 11.
- ταμείον 66 i 7, ii 9.  
τάξις 64 12.  
ταπεινοῦν 54<sup>1</sup> ii 11.  
ταραχή 54<sup>1</sup> ii 4.  
τάριχος 96 6.  
(-)τάσσειν 96 20?  
τάχα 96 20?  
τάχος 98 (a) 11.  
ταχύς 99 36 01 26.  
τε 59 5 63 14 71 17 84 11 (δαι P.), 20 85 19 03 31 11 16.  
τέκνον 66 i [4], ii [4].  
τεκτονικός 81 ii 9.  
τελείως 86 46.  
τελευταίος 86 28.  
τελευταῖον 64 9.  
τελευτή 63 39.  
τέλος 86 34, 45.  
τέσσαρες 85 12 91 4, 11 93 21 00 13.  
τέταρτος 66 ii 15 83 27 91 5.  
τετρακόσιος 78 5 86 33.  
τετράβολον 86 30.  
τέχνη 86 9, 19, 47.  
τιθέναι 84 27.  
τιμή 87 24 70 ii [17], iii 6 80 1, 8 93 9, 12 98 (a) 8, (b) 6 99 32.  
τίμημα 70 ii 15, iii [5] 11 17.  
τίμιος 59 17 97 1.  
τιμωρεῖν 54<sup>1</sup> ii 14.  
τις 60 [12] 62 10 83 18 84 16 94 9 01 20 02 5, 9 03 3, 10, 28.  
τίς 62 4, 9 12 5.  
τοίνυν 62 8.  
τοιόστος 99 11 03 3.  
τοπαρχία 88 5 89 i 90 2 91 3.  
τόπος 54<sup>1</sup> ii 12, 3 iii [12] 88 6 89 2 90 2 91 3, 15.  
τότε 63 29 03 12.  
τράπεζα 84 9, 15.  
τραῦμα 63 30.  
τρεῖς 81 ii 24 93 18, 24 99 30, 31.  
τρέφειν 86 14.  
τριάκοντα 71 12.  
τριάκοσιος 66 ii 15.  
τρίτος 61 17.  
τροφή 69 20.  
τροφερός 99 31, 34.  
τυγχάνειν 03 28.  
τύχη 61 6.  
ὕβρις 63 14, 27.  
ὕγρος 54<sup>1</sup> ii 12.  
ὕδωρ 69 6.

Note. This index omits words in the special indexes

- υἶος 63 31 64 6 78 4 79 8 86 2, 7 99 35 02 14 09 6.  
ὕπαρχειν 66 i [6], ii 8 82 6 84 10, 20 85 7 02 11 03 7, 13.  
ὕπατέλα 70 ii 1, iii i 71 22 85 1.  
ὕπερ 32 Introd. 15 62 9 (ἡπερ P.) 66 ii 15 68 36 70 ii 28 71 25 78 i 79 1, 6 82 2, 4 86 22 91 14 11 16.  
ὕπερεια 69 11, 30.  
ὕπερχειν 63 10.  
ὕπὸ 32 Introd. 5 33 Introd. 6 54<sup>2</sup> ii 9 59 9 60 [14] 61 10, 11, 19 62 3, 7 63 15 67 8 68 19 83 5 84 3 86 15, 17 87 10.  
ὕπογράφειν 67 12 97 5.  
ὕπόμνημα 62 7, 12, 15.  
\*ὕπόσπειρος 81 i 19?, [25?], ii 14.  
ὕποσσειν 54<sup>2</sup> ii i 84 4.  
ὕποτυγχάνειν 97 7, 10.  
ὕψηλός 70 iii (a) 4.  
ὕψων 54<sup>1</sup> ii 10.  
φακίριον 99 32 (φακειαρ P.).  
φάναι 33 Introd. 5 60 [13] 82 5.  
φανερός 61 5 66 i 11, ii 17 69 27.  
\*φασγίδιον 98 (a) [7], (b) [5].  
φάσειν 54<sup>1</sup> ii 2 99 32, 34.  
φιλείν 94 6.  
φιλία 03 23.  
φίλος 60 3, 22 61 21 94 15 03 17, 26 10 13.  
φόρος 80 13, 14 84 12 85 11, 17.  
\*φορτιαῖος 81 ii 16, 20.  
φρονεῖν 94 5.  
φροντιστής 32 Introd. 8.  
φύειν 54<sup>1</sup> ii 3.  
φύλη 63 6 87 2.  
φῶς 54<sup>3</sup> iii 14.  
χαίρειν 59 2 60 3 84 6 87 4 89 2 90 2 93 1 94 1 95 2 96 2 97 2 98 (a) 2, (b) 2 99 3, 30 01 2 02 2 09 3.  
χαρακτήρ 03 6.  
χάρων 86 20.  
χαρτάριον 96 7.  
χάρτης 71 11?  
χείρ 03 4.  
χειραγωγία 12<sup>2</sup> 3, 4.  
χειρίζειν 70 ii 19, iii [6] 71 6.  
χειρόγραφον 66 i 8, ii 11.  
χλῆροι 79 5 84 14, 32 87 7, 8, 16.  
χλοῖος 71 9.  
χορηγία 69 15.  
χοροθῆκη 83 23.  
χόρτος 83 22.  
χρεία 00 12 03 5.  
χρεωστὴν 62 13.  
χρηματίζειν 54<sup>2</sup> ii 7 60 4 65 10? 66 i [3], ii [3].  
χρῆμαι 69 21.  
χρήσθαι 63 43.  
χρήσις 99 31.  
χρηστός 96 8.  
χρηστότης 00 8.  
χρῶτα 03 7.  
χρόνος 83 20, 24 84 18, 31 86 9, 21, 34, 35, 45 97 11 02 17.  
χρομάτωος 93 22.  
χρωλον 99 10.  
χωρίς 66 i [3], ii [3] 84 12.  
ψήφισμα 10 15.  
ψυμίτιον (= ψυμίθιον) 70 iii (a) 12.  
ὦ 03 17.  
ὠμός 81 ii 25.  
ὠνή 84 8.  
ὠνός 70 ii [19], iii [6].  
ᾠρα 82 3.  
ὠς 60 4 61 4 62 8, 15 64 12 65 10 69 21 70 ii 27 71 19 80 2, 5, 11 82 3, 5, 6 [85 19] 86 57 97 11 00 15 03 17, 26 12<sup>2</sup> 12.  
ὄστερ 54<sup>3</sup> iii 17 63 11, 41 69 12 84 11 93 27 97 8, 17.  
ὄχρα 67 20.

Note. This index omits words in the special indexes



Fragmentary papyrus scroll with Greek text, showing several columns of writing in a cursive hand. The text is partially obscured by damage and fading.

Fragmentary papyrus scroll with Greek text, showing several columns of writing in a cursive hand. The text is partially obscured by damage and fading.

2536

Fragmentary papyrus scroll with Greek text, showing several columns of writing in a cursive hand. The text is partially obscured by damage and fading.

Fragmentary papyrus scroll with Greek text, showing several columns of writing in a cursive hand. The text is partially obscured by damage and fading.

2554 fr. 3



Fragmentary Greek text on the left side of the page, consisting of several vertical strips of papyrus or parchment. The text is mostly illegible due to damage and fragmentation, but some words like 'ΚΑΙ' and 'ΕΝ' are visible.

2537 verso

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΑΡΧΙΔΙΑΚΟΥ  
 ΕΡΩΤΗΤΑ ΧΑΙΡΕΤΕ  
 ΠΡΟΜΕΝ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ  
 ΕΥΧΟΜΕΘΥΜΑΣ ΟΥΚ ΕΝ  
 ΡΙΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΔΕ ΚΥΡΙ  
 ΓΡΗΝ ΟΚΙΝΕΣ ΕΙ  
 ΟΤΙ ΤΗ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΔΕ  
 ΚΛΕΝΩΣ ΕΝ ΤΗ  
 ΑΠΟΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΒΧΟΜΕΝ  
 ΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΣΧΕ  
 ΚΕΝ ΠΟΙΜΟΝΑΣ  
 ΔΕ ΑΦΥΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΝ  
 ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΜΟΥ ΟΥΔΕΝ  
 ΣΤΗΡΕ ΜΑΧΕΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ  
 ΚΙΣΤΗ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΤΡΑΡΑ  
 ΤΗΝ ΙΝ ΤΗΝ ΔΕ  
 ΟΥΧ ΕΠΙΛΟΓΩΝ  
 ΕΠΕΡΙΣΟΝ ΑΡ ΤΥ

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΑΡΧΙΔΙΑΚΟΥ  
 ΜΕΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥ  
 ΔΕΝ ΔΕ Ο ΕΜΕΛ  
 ΕΝ ΔΕ ΟΥ ΡΟΝ ΔΕ ΤΗΝ  
 ΕΣΣΩΡΟΝ ΕΣΕΡΧΕ  
 ΔΟΝ ΑΠΟ ΠΕΤ  
 ΔΕ ΑΥΤΑ ΔΕ ΑΝ ΔΕ  
 ΧΩΝ Ο ΓΡΑΦΕΣ ΕΝ ΤΗ  
 ΤΕΡΗ ΤΟ ΟΥ ΚΟΝ ΤΑΣ  
 ΝΙΣΙΝ ΤΗΝ ΟΥ ΜΕ ΔΕ ΚΑ  
 ΠΟΙΣ ΕΟΧΕ ΝΑ ΜΕ ΣΙΜΩΝ

2601



fr. 1

fr. 6







10  
 11  
 12  
 13  
 14  
 15  
 16  
 17  
 18  
 19  
 20  
 21  
 22  
 23  
 24  
 25  
 26  
 27  
 28  
 29  
 30  
 31  
 32  
 33  
 34  
 35  
 36  
 37  
 38  
 39  
 40  
 41  
 42  
 43  
 44  
 45  
 46  
 47  
 48  
 49  
 50  
 51  
 52  
 53  
 54  
 55  
 56  
 57  
 58  
 59  
 60  
 61  
 62  
 63  
 64  
 65  
 66  
 67  
 68  
 69  
 70  
 71  
 72  
 73  
 74  
 75  
 76  
 77  
 78  
 79  
 80  
 81  
 82  
 83  
 84  
 85  
 86  
 87  
 88  
 89  
 90  
 91  
 92  
 93  
 94  
 95  
 96  
 97  
 98  
 99  
 100

fr. 3



2546

101  
 102  
 103  
 104  
 105  
 106  
 107  
 108  
 109  
 110  
 111  
 112  
 113  
 114  
 115  
 116  
 117  
 118  
 119  
 120  
 121  
 122  
 123  
 124  
 125  
 126  
 127  
 128  
 129  
 130  
 131  
 132  
 133  
 134  
 135  
 136  
 137  
 138  
 139  
 140  
 141  
 142  
 143  
 144  
 145  
 146  
 147  
 148  
 149  
 150  
 151  
 152  
 153  
 154  
 155  
 156  
 157  
 158  
 159  
 160  
 161  
 162  
 163  
 164  
 165  
 166  
 167  
 168  
 169  
 170  
 171  
 172  
 173  
 174  
 175  
 176  
 177  
 178  
 179  
 180  
 181  
 182  
 183  
 184  
 185  
 186  
 187  
 188  
 189  
 190  
 191  
 192  
 193  
 194  
 195  
 196  
 197  
 198  
 199  
 200

fr. 4



